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THE WARRENDER PAPERS

VOLUME II

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With an Introduction by

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INTRODUCTION

THE second volume of the Warrender Papers happens to mark a century of publications by the Scottish History Society, being the hundredth volume issued since the institution of the Society in 1886. It covers, approximately, the period from the execution of Queen Mary in 1587 to her son's succession to the throne of England in 1603, and it is of not less wide and varied interest than its predecessor. It contains communications, many of them autograph letters from European rulers, addressed to James VI. and relating to the secret history of the time. There is no reign in purely Scottish history in which the sovereign of Scotland was so deeply engrossed in negotiations and intrigues with foreign powers other than England, and these letters and diplomatic notes possess an importance in the general history of Europe. Many of them are here printed for the first time, and the student will find that Miss Cameron's admirable introductions and notes place him in a position to estimate the significance of the documents.

To the whole of the correspondence the remarkable, if not attractive, personality of James VI. imparts a special interest. These documents provide material for a study of what he himself called ' King-craft.' He may not have possessed all the qualities which the courtier poet du Bartas attributed to him—' handsome, brave, eloquent, active and discreet '—and Henry of Navarre may not have been pleased with the assertion that James was ' his own image and picture,' but his schemes and plots show great

cleverness, if not much wisdom. It is characteristic that when, just after his mother's death, he sent ambassadors to Denmark to negotiate a marriage with a Danish princess, and the diplomatists asked what they should say if the Danish monarch inquired how he 'took' his mother's death and whether he intended to maintain the league with England, the only answer they received was, 'Mell (meddle) not with that.' It is equally characteristic that he believed his dignity to be compromised by marrying the second daughter of the King of Denmark, for his 'forebearis had maryed ever the eldest daughteris of Kings.' His courtships were less amusing than those of his 'dearest cousin' in England, for he had only two strings to his bow —the Danish princess and the sister of Henry of Navarre. To the latter lady, Catherine de Bourbon, he wrote in 1588 a letter assuring her of his steadfast love and promising to explain his intentions more particularly. His agent expostulated that such a promise invalidated his own commission, and the lady replied in a delightfully ironical note in which she accepted his compliments as indications of his regard for her brother. James had another princess on his books, and he contented himself with apologising, in a letter to Henry of Navarre, for not having leisure to write to a lady. By that time he was on the eve of marriage by proxy with Anne of Denmark, his 'only love,' but when he went to Norway to bring home his bride, he assured his people in a public proclamation that his marriage was a marriage of policy.

Not less revealing, and of greater political interest, is the series of letters in which James attempted to secure the support of princes of the Holy Roman Empire and other Continental potentates for his claim to the succession to the throne of Elizabeth, who, he assured them, 'with increasing years becomes more sickly.' Elizabeth had long ago told his mother's minister, Maitland of Lethington,

that she did not enjoy being reminded about her winding-sheet, and her repugnance to the topic was probably greater after an interval of over thirty years, but James wished the Protestant rulers of Europe to unite in telling the old Queen that she must acknowledge him as her successor, and he even asked for military help, if it should be required, to seize the English throne after her death. The princes were willing to give their gratuitous advice to Elizabeth, but were much more coy about committing themselves to any promises of assistance. Fortunately for James, the round-robin was never presented, and, still more fortunately, Cecil, who knew of the Scottish King's requests for help in the conquest of England, concealed his knowledge from the English people.

The ambition to succeed to the English Crown explains, as these documents will show, much in James's policy. The theory of Divine Right, which was doubtless acceptable to him on other grounds, was essential to the argument upon which he based his claim to be Elizabeth's heir, for there existed a Parliamentary enactment incompatible with his succession. The ambition, realised after the Edinburgh riot of 1596 (upon which these papers throw fresh light), to establish an episcopal form of church government in Scotland was closely connected with the ambition of becoming the monarch of a country in which the Church was episcopal.

Miss Cameron's introductions will explain the variety of the interest and importance of the documents, but I should like to call special attention to the supplement to the 'Historie of King James the Sext,' the catalogue of the Books belonging to the Bishop of Orkney, both printed in the last section, and to the fresh evidence about the Earl of Bothwell and about the death of the Bonny Earl o' Moray.

A future volume will contain many important documents

throwing light upon the ecclesiastical history of the reign of James VI.

I should like to say that in the preparation of this, as of the preceding, volume, such service as I have been able to render has been that of a consultant. The work has been done by Miss Cameron.

We both desire to express our gratitude to Mr. William Angus, Curator of the Historical Records, H.M. General Register House, for the careful reading of the proofs and other assistance, to Mr. Henry M. Paton for collations and valuable help with difficult texts and translations, to Mr. F. Nicholson of Edinburgh University Library and Dr. H. W. Meikle of the National Library for the courtesies and facilities given to Miss Cameron during the work of editorship.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

THE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW.
October 1932.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.S.	*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.* Record Series.
Booke of Univ. Kirk	*Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland.* Bannatyne Club. 1839-45.
Calderwood	Calderwood, David, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland.* Wodrow Society. 1843-9.
C.F.P.	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series.* Record Series.
C.M.H., Camb. Mod. Hist.	*Cambridge Modern History.*
C.S.P.	*Calendar of Scottish Papers.* Record Series.
C.S.P., Scot.	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland.* Edited M. J. Thorpe.
D.N.B.	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
Eubel	Eubel, Conrad, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii.* Munster, 1898-1910.
Fasti	Scott, Hew, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae.* New Edition. 1915-28.
H.J.S.	*The Historie and Life of King James the Sext.* Bannatyne Club. 1825.
H.P.	*Calendar of Hatfield Papers.* Historical MSS. Commission.
K.J.S.	Rait, R. S., and Cameron, A. I., *King James's Secret.* London, 1927.
Mas. Latrie	*Trésor de Chronologie d'Histoire et de Géographie.*
Moysie	Moysie, David, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland.* Bannatyne Club. 1830.
P.C.	*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.* Record Series.
Pitcairn	Pitcairn, Robert, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland.* Bannatyne Club. 1833.
R.M.S.	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum.* Record Series.
Spottiswoode	Spottiswoode, John, *History of the Church of Scotland.* Spottiswoode Society. 1851.
Teulet	*Papiers d'État relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse au xvi^e siècle.* Edited A. Teulet. Bannatyne Club. 1852.
Tytler	Tytler, P. F., *History of Scotland.* New Edition. 1866.

THE WARRENDER PAPERS

Nos. I–XLII: INTRODUCTORY

THE following forty-two documents carry on the continuity of events from the end of the last volume, when Mary's executioner cried 'God sawe the Quene and so perische all the enemeis of the gospell' (No. CLXVII). Elizabeth herself well knew that such a staggering event must have consequences, and that she was not to be so swiftly and decisively delivered from her enemies. Her fate, like that of her victim and of her victim's son, was bound up in the bundle with great European issues. It is here, indeed, that we find an underlying unity of interest in this section of the Warrender Papers, stretching from the death of Mary Queen of Scots in February 1586-7 to the marriage of James to Anne of Denmark in 1589. All of the documents bear more or less directly upon the foreign relations of Scotland and the general affairs of western Europe.

These were years of struggle between Protestants and Catholics in the religious sphere; between Hapsburg, Valois, and Guise in the world of politics; between Spain and England with their fundamental differences of religion, nationality, and economics (No. VI). In the circumstances of the time statesmen were not blind to the part that Scotland might play upon this complicated stage. The champions of Protestantism were anxious for the friendship of James and the stability of his estate; the Catholics, if they could not win the King, knew the value of stirring

up sedition among his subjects. James himself, while personally loyal to the principles of Protestantism, was not unwilling to make the most of his opportunities to further his life's ambition of succeeding to the English throne. In this connection the two chief questions which he had to decide were his attitude to his mother's death, and his own marriage.

The Warrender Papers give us no direct expression of James's personal feelings 'after the Queenis execution,' but the callousness of the instructions to his ambassadors leaves the unpleasant suspicion that 'the vexationis of his mother' went deeper than his filial grief for her fate. He was prepared to 'exaggerat the fact' of the 'barbarouse deed' to suit his purposes, and he meant to let expediency dictate whether he would 'keap with' England or not (No. VII, Part III).

Elizabeth, on her side, expressed the utmost sorrow for the 'miserable accident' of Mary's execution and eloquently protested her own innocence (No. I). But it was not pity for her 'so heavy a harte and discontented a countenance' that moved James so much as the shrewd worldly wisdom of Walsingham's reminder that his resources were inadequate to a war of revenge, and that it was better far 'to seeke to winne the hartie good willes of this realme, as the chefe and principall assuraunce he can in anie sorte obtaine,' than 'to trust or depend either uppon the French king or the king of Spaine,' princes whose greatness was incompatible with his (Nos. III, IV).

Shortly after his mother's death James had, indeed, appealed to the King of France and to his Guise kinsfolk, but their cold response must have given weight to Walsingham's warning to beware of foreign potentates. It is significant that while the Duke of Guise commended James's spectacular efforts to unite the ranks of his nobility and advised him to turn to Spain and the Pope, he himself

pleaded the necessity of his own affairs as an excuse for evading obligations (Nos. IX, X).

As for the French monarchy, the Archbishop of Glasgow has painted a graphic picture of the vacillation of Henry III. and his deference to the statecraft of his mother. Catherine de Medicis gave 'fair words and promises' (*belles parolles et promesses*), but was forced to acknowledge that she was driving time till the fate of the campaign should be known. It may have been diplomacy, but it was also stark truth, to say that the King's power was crippled by the state of the realm (No. X). Not only was France a kingdom openly divided against itself into the Catholic and Protestant camps, but the Catholic League was itself cleft by the rivalry between Henry of Valois and Henry of Guise which ended in the murder of Guise in December 1588.

The existence of this cleavage can be traced behind the rhetoric of the English seminarist who addressed Guise as the descendant of the 'Emperor Charlemagne, of Pipin and St. Louis, Kings of the French,' and hence, by inference, of more royal stock than the House of Valois. It was the Guises who had approved themselves 'the leaders, champions and patrons of the Gallic Church'; they who had erected themselves 'as a wall for the house of Israel'; they, also, who were 'the singular patrons and defenders' of the English College at Rheims. To them the seminarists looked to win back England, 'now heretic and worse than pagan . . . to its ancient liberty and religion.' The orator is inspired with religious fervour, but it is the fiery zeal which was rebuked in the Sons of Thunder. The facts of history are distorted and exaggerated: the flattery of patrons and vituperation of enemies spoken in the name of religion might have wounded sensitive spirits even in that age of adulation. One likes to think that the identity of the speaker has been conjectured aright; that he was a zealot

who could and did suffer for the faith that he preached, 'despising the allurements and contagions of the heretics whereby he might have been destroyed as by the songs of the sirens' (No. V). He appears to have been single-hearted and a visionary, but he was either carried away by the eloquence of his own oratory, or he placed a blind and deluded faith in the altruistic fervour of those whom he addressed.

What is true of him as a Catholic is no less true of ardent Protestant spirits, who had suffered and were ready to spend themselves in what was for them the cause of true religion (Nos. XVI, XXVIII). The Navarre correspondence in the Warrender Papers gives an interesting picture of the Huguenot camp. We have glimpses of the activity of Scottish volunteers in the 'good cause,' of diplomatic missions to England and elsewhere, of wounds received and hardships suffered, of alternations of hope and despondency during the progress of the war. Some of the letters are short and business-like, other are euphuistic effusions of diplomatists, who also served Mars and cultivated the Muses (No. XXXII). Conspicuous among these stands the poet du Bartas, whose pen has painted a vivid picture of the state of France where things were going from bad to worse; the realm being converted little by little into a desert by open war, or by pest and famine. 'How much happier,' he exclaimed, 'is Scotland, which enjoys peace and repose under a wise King' (No. XXXII).

It is, indeed, well to remember that with all his wavering and self-seeking James did preserve his country from the miseries of a civil war. Scotland was already sufficiently torn by religious differences and family feuds. The burgesses and middle classes had reason to be grateful that they could at least enjoy the blessings of official peace. That they were growing in influence may be gathered from the weight that their voice carried in the final decision of

the King's marriage (No. XL) and in the financial support they gave him. Open war would have thrown Scotland into the arms of Spain and brought with it the horrors of civil war, for it was known that Scottish traitors in the pay of Spain were stirring up sedition in the country (No. XXX). All peaceable lieges might therefore share the thankfulness of the Queen of England that their King concurred with her 'for the withstandinge of the interprises of strangers' at the time of the Armada (No. XIV).

Elizabeth's letter to Maitland is an expression of her relief to be freed 'from the doubt of annoyaunce that may be wrought unto her by the way of Scotland' (Nos. XIV, VI), but her 'well-devoted kinseman' had some reason to consider that when the danger was past she showed scant gratitude for his 'kyndlye dispositioun.' When, therefore, after the murder of Guise, Spanish intrigues again became a menace in Scotland, Elizabeth's exasperation at her brother's leniency drew from him the apt retort that 'he had just cause to expostulat . . . that he hes not bene so kyndlye delt withall as he houped and as his desert and behaviour did requyre.' He pointed out that the best way to 'breade more suirtye and quyet to both the states' was to show 'some better consideration' of him: that, moreover, 'be his late behaviour having lost his forreyn freyndis and suscitat to him selfe enemeyes both at home and abrode, and being so lytle respected and so coldlye delt withall by the quene of England, he is moved to shew the lesse rigour toward his rebellis and to yelde the more to the requeste of his weill affected subjectis' (No. XXXIX). Their 'requeste' was anent his marriage, a matter in which English interference had given rise to 'generall miscontentment.'

It was not only the Archbishop of Glasgow who speculated as to the King's bride in order to advance his own

purposes: James has himself left on record that his marriage was an affair of statecraft (Nos. X, XLII). During the whole of this period negotiations were going on, sometimes simultaneously, and with many fluctuations, both with Navarre and Denmark. The Warrender Papers do not tell the last word upon this matter, but they provide valuable new material which cannot be overlooked by the historian who would pronounce a verdict.

It is clear, for example, that in 1587, although preliminary negotiations had already been made with Denmark, neither Scots nor Danes had 'a true and plain meaning to goe fordwart and compleit the marriage': and it is hinted that the attitude of England had something to do with the irresolution (No. VII, Parts III, VI). The swing of the pendulum between Denmark and Navarre is felt to be a reverberation from the general European situation in a time of tension and uncertainty, when the apprehension of coming events made men nervous and uneasy. They were everywhere unwilling to commit themselves; and from this point of view it is interesting, and may be significant, that in 1587 both James's ambassador in Paris and his envoys to Denmark complained of the insufficiency of their commission (Nos. X, VII).

The latter must have set out with considerable misgiving over the ambiguous nature of their instructions; and when they found that also in Denmark they were slighted and given 'an answerless answer to ther negotiation,' it was only human nature to 'tak it for great unkyndnes,' and rather than good gifts to desire 'a hearty goodnight' to the weary business, and 'to goe the nearest way to ther shippis.' Frederick II. had used the age-long 'mater of Orkney' and his more temporary 'trouble with the toothache' to shelve the irksome question of the 'nundination' of his daughter; for, under whatsoever form of words he sought to disguise the unpleasant fact, his conduct was nothing other than

'to play the merchant' in a matrimonial market. The Scots ambassadors tore away pretences when they remarked that 'no treaties of mariagis among princes wer made without pactions.' In this case James himself was scarcely a free agent, and there was little to choose between Frederick II. and Henry of Navarre as merchants, between Elizabeth or Anne of Denmark and Catherine de Bourbon as objects of merchandise.

Du Bartas exhorted the King of Navarre that as 'you have given your goods, your age, your life to this cause; now give to it your sister' (No. XI). Our documents indicate that the enthusiasm and initiative were on the part of the writer and of de l'Isle, whom he bought at a 'heavy price' (No. XI), rather than on the part of their master. The Scottish marriage project had many French advocates, who courted James with euphuistic flattery. The part of a 'Scottish Apollo' (No. XXXII) was doubtless flattering to his intellectual pride, and one hopes that the compliments paid to him were more than empty words. It is pleasant, at least, to find that du Bartas and de l'Isle, who knew him best, were also his most devoted supporters. At the same time it is to be remembered that they saw in him more than the King of Scots: he was a potential champion of the Protestant cause—an 'image and picture' of the King of Navarre (No. XI). To them the 'felicity of Christendom' was to be founded upon the heaven-ordained marriage of Henry's sister and James VI. It seemed to du Bartas in his enthusiasm that 'the walls of Rome tremble, and that all Papistry shudders with fear at the mention of the alliance of two such brave Princes' (No. XII). But in so far as the Huguenot poet and the English seminarist of Rheims built their mutually antagonistic hopes upon the altruism of princes, they were both visionaries out of touch with actualities. Du Plessis, with a statesman's realism, was aware that the Scottish marriage

could be accomplished only if the ' public utilities and the particular desires of those most interested be in it ' (No. XXXV). It was for the lack of both of these essential conditions that the negotiations ultimately failed.

It is significant that Henry of Navarre himself does not once in the Warrender correspondence make definite reference to a matrimonial union when writing about affinities of religion and interests. In December 1588, in a moment of hot excitement, he looked to James ' for the most speedy and certain human succour against the imminent attempts of the enemies of the Church.' It is strange that he should send ' an important communication ' to the King of Scots, exhorting him to action, almost at the very moment when Guise was murdered in the presence of the King of France. If there was any connection between these two events, the writer did not commit himself to paper; but his opportunist attitude is betrayed in his reflection that ' it is idle to speculate on the consequences ' of this act of God (No. XXVIII). In so far as one of the results was to identify his interests with those of the French monarchy, it tended to weaken the value of the Scottish alliance.

When, three months later, he again expressed an ardent desire for the union of their fortunes, what he particularly wanted was the ' help ' of Wemyss and his ' thrie thovsand waidged men ' (No. XXXVII). It is noteworthy that these mercenaries were to be paid with English money, and that Wemyss, their ' generall,' was at the same moment a recruiting officer for Navarre and an agent in England for the Danish marriage (No. XXXIX).

By this time the devious negotiations had entered upon their last stage, and it is hinted in the ' directioun geven by his Majestie to James Hudesone be mouth ' that until the very end the thread of diplomacy was tangled and obscure. It has an ugly look that at this juncture the disreputable and defamed Master of Gray should make his reappearance,

commissioned by the Queen of England with ' her advyse particularlye toward the matter ' of the King's marriage. Events, however, were passing out of Elizabeth's control. In his matrimonial affairs no less than in other things, James felt that ' he had just cause to expostulat with the Quene.' The voice that carried the most weight with him in the end was that of ' the burrowes of this realme . . . speciallie Edinburghe '; but their voice, one would like to think, did not persuade him against his will (No. XXXIX). There was to be further trouble over conditions, and James was still to allege the ' closest friendship ' with Navarre. It is probable, however, that these protestations did not ring so convincing to Henry as the ' rumours to the contrary.' James may have been unsatisfactory as a politician, but it did him honour as a man, that he ' had not leisure to write a dainty letter ' to Catherine de Bourbon, when (as appears) his heart was set upon Anne of Denmark (No. XL).

It is unlikely that his feelings towards Madam Catherine had ever been less conventional than the ' ardent affection ' bred in his heart for Princess Elizabeth by the present of her picture (No. VII, Part 1). If Anne was younger and taller than her sister, much more did fame give her the advantages of youth, beauty, and portion over the French princess, who probably never was, nor wanted to be, her rival in love. James's only letter to her is a formal expression of flattery, while the unsatisfactory manner in which he proposed to explain his ' intentions more particularly ' caused sleepless nights to the devoted de l'Isle (Nos. XXI, XXIV). The lady's answer implies that she set the proper estimate upon James's professions; and that no lovers were broken-hearted, although statesmen were disappointed, over the failure of the match. The active interest of du Bartas and de l'Isle is easy to read in the Warrender Papers, but the part played by the Chancellor

of Scotland is not so clear. There is, however, a hint at co-operation in the fact that de l'Isle was Maitland's guest at Lethington in August 1588 (No. XVI), and it is otherwise known that he advocated the union with Navarre. If James was not 'moved by those of Edinburgh to marye with Denmarke,' perhaps his Chancellor was 'caryed by a populaire commotioun to conclude in that mater' (No. XXXIX). It is significant that when the King determined upon a winter journey to Norway to fetch his queen, he claimed to act upon his own initiative, and that he carried his Chancellor with him. He had taken his destiny in his own hands. The affections of the lover and the interests of the ruler were at last merged in one. His 'fear and anxiety' for the safety of his bride not only made him find time to send her a tender letter by a special messenger, but constrained him to brave the storms in his proper person to bring home his 'only love' (*mes uniques amours*) (No. XLI).

I

Elizabeth to James VI.

14 February 1586-7.

I wish you knew, though I would not have you feel, my extreme grief for 'that miserable accident which farre contrary to my meening hath bene befallen.' I now send my kinsman [1] to inform you of the truth. God and men know that I am innocent. If I had 'bidden doe it I wold have abyden by it.' Fear of living man would not drive me to do what is unjust; nor to deny what I have done. If I had meant to do this deed, I would not lay the blame on others; nor will I condemn myself, since I am innocent of it. As for yourself, believe me that you have not a more loving kinswoman, nor a dearer friend, than myself in all the world.

Copy, unsigned, ½ p. Vol. A, 240.
Printed in *King James's Secret*, p. 194; Spottiswoode, ii. 362; *C.S.P.*, ix. no. 280.

II

Lord Burghley to Mr. Archibald Douglas

2 March 1586-7.

He has informed the Queen 'of the lewd and blasphemous speechis' made by Job Throgmorton [2] in the

[1] Sir Robert Carey. His father, Lord Hunsdon, was Elizabeth's cousin, the son of her mother's sister, Mary Boleyn. James refused to give him audience or to receive his letters. In the end he appointed Sir Robert Melville and Sir James Hume of Cowdenknowes, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, to receive his written statement at Foulden on 14 March. (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 313.) See following document.

[2] Miss Warrender has the following footnote: 'Job Throgmorton, Esq., was returned on the 14th October 1586 as Member for the Warwick Burghs —(see *Parliamentary Returns*).'

House of Commons 'ageynst the honor of the Kyng of Scottis.' The offender shall be imprisoned in the Tower 'to morrow,' and 'shall therby, for the rashnes of his tong, fele smart in his whole body.' His punishment shall be sharp, because 'his fault is not excusable.' I wish you to be informed of the punishment as soon as, or before, you hear of the deed.

Let your King remember that his mother would have died before him in the course of nature, and that she can not be brought back to life. Let him not be persuaded by self-interested men 'to lose the harts of gret nombers lyvyng, that befor they dye, may will hym more good than his mothar's lyf cold have doone if she had contynued.'

Original, holograph. Vol. C.
Printed in Miss Warrender's *Illustrations of Scottish History*, Letter XI.

III

Sir Francis Walsingham to Chancellor Maitland

4 March 1586-7.

I was absent from court at the time of the Queen's execution, and immediately on my return I informed Mr. Douglas of what was considered the best course to follow 'in this remedilesse accident, for continewaunce of peace and amitye betwene the two crownes.' But as I found him unresponsive I now address myself to you. This I do the more urgently because I hear that the Queen's death is likely to alienate the King and move him to revenge.[1]

[1] Calderwood writes that 'when the king heard of the executioun, he could not conceale his inward joy, howbeit outwardlie he seemed to be sorrowfull.' (iv. 611.) Sir James Melville says, more graphically than accurately, that 'his Maieste when he vnderstode of thir sorowfull newes, tok hauy displesour, and convenit ane parlement . . . desyring the assistance of his subiectis, to seak to be reuengit. Wher all the estaitis, in a voice, cryed out in a gret rage, to set fordwart, and promysed that they suld all hazard ther lyues, and spend ther gudis and geir largely to that effect.' (*Memoirs*, 356-357.) According to another report, the King 'not only took that news very grievously and offensively, but also gave out in secret

It is, however, the general belief that his Majesty, following his own good judgment and the wise advice of such counsellors as yourself, will not embark upon a policy which would be prejudicial to his estate and reputation.

Firstly, all impartial people will condemn a war of revenge, inasmuch as the execution was an act of necessity and 'full of so honorable and just procedinges.' England, strong in the support of the God of Justice, need not fear the issue.

Apart from 'the justness of the quarrel,' consider the inadequate resources of the King. He could not hope in his own strength to stand against the might of England.

It is probable, however, that some people, 'the enemyes of both realms,' will for their own private ends try to stir him up with empty hopes of French and Spanish support. But wise men know the uncertainty and meagreness of the help usually given by these princes; and that the issue of the war must be doubtful, since England is strong in herself and, being supported by the sea power of the Dutch, need fear no hostile coalition against her. Think also of the possible consequences. The King might be slain, or captured, or driven into exile. He would alienate the whole kingdom, and by attempting invasion would forfeit his right in the succession by virtue of the same statute under which his mother suffered. By reviving the ancient enmity he would make it impossible for the English people to choose him as their prince. Moreover, the 'ancient nobillitie,' who were the Queen's judges, and the 'principall gentlemen of the realme' who confirmed the sentence in parliament, would have reason to hazard everything in war rather than submit to a vindictive ruler, who would doubtless one day proceed against them.

As for the King's hope of foreign support, examples are not wanting to remind him that 'princis are not so readie

speeches that he could not disgest the same or leave it unrevenged.' (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 286. Cf. Camden, *Annales*, 350.) For the situation in Scotland in general see Tytler and *P.C.*, iv. xviii; Spottiswoode, ii. 364. Spottiswoode and Tytler both consider that the present letter was the first step to allay the King's anger and the clamour for revenge and violence.

at theise daies to embrase other mens quarrells ' except out of self-interest.

It must be clear to all unprejudiced thinkers that the King's wisest course is ' by good and kynde usage of her Majestie, and shewinge that princelie moderatioun, as well in this grevous accident of his mothers deathe, as his whole procedinges with this realme (which the excellencye of his highnes educacon semeth to promise) to seeke to winne the hartie good willes of this realme, as the chefe and principall assuraunce he can in anie sorte obtaine.' He would be most misguided ' to trust or depend either uppon the French king or the king of Spaine.' It would be unreasonable to expect these potentates to support him, a prince whose greatness is incompatible with theirs.

First, his religion is hateful to them both; and if the two crowns were united under a Protestant, it would be a menace to the Catholic cause. For this reason his mother disinherited her son in favour of the King of Spain.

Next, the mere remembrance of the claim of the English kings to the crown of France would make France oppose the succession of James to the throne of England. Formerly, when the English held possessions in France, the French used the Scots to ' annoy ' the English; and at the present time it might suit their politics to support a war of diversion here. But England can defend herself, and in the end your king would find that he had caused only ' the effusion of muche Scottishe bloode for Frenche quarrells ' and the desolation of his country.

It is not likely that at this moment the French king would give any support. He desires peace at home and abroad, and secretly hates the Guises, who have forced him to countenance the present civil war.[1] Moreover, as he suspects that they have a design upon his crown, it would be unsafe to promote the cause of their kinsman, the King of Scots.

The Spanish king, being already at war with England,

[1] The eighth civil war of religion, called the ' War of the Three Henries,' 1585-1589.

would be more likely to render assistance, but would be more dangerous because of his ' unsatiable ambition, depe practises everiewhere and power, accompanied in this case with a coulour of righte.' It is to be remembered by way of caution that Navarre, Portugal, and his Italian possessions were extorted from their true inheritors and annexed to his own crown ' uppon verie slender grounde of title.'

It is believed that Philip would accept peace upon reasonable terms, and would be reluctant to undertake any new enterprise. Apart from this, it is well known that he has coveted England ever since he was king as the husband of Mary Tudor. The conquest was to be made in the name of religion. He claims the crown as heir of the house of Lancaster, as ' the first Catholicque prince of the blood royall of Englande,' and by the donation of the Queen of Scots. Therefore let your king beware how he entrusts himself to such a helper.

Some may allege that by a change of religion he would secure greater support from France and Spain, and win over a party in England; but the fallacy of such an opinion is shown by ' the pore distressed estate of Don Anthonio,[1] beinge a Catholicque prince spoiled by a Catholicque and receavinge so little succour at Catholicque princis handes.' As for the English Catholics, they were not a united party even in his mother's lifetime, and would be still less likely to support him if he changed his religion. On the contrary, he would lose the confidence of both Protestants and Catholics: the one party would distrust him as an apostate, the other would doubt his sincerity.

Where it is insinuated that the king is bound in honour to give ' some notable testimonye to the worlde ' of his filial love, he is wise enough to know that ' true honnore '

[1] Don Antonio, Prior of Cato, ' the half-Jewish and doubtfully legitimate grandson of Emmanuel the Great,' claimed the crown of Portugal upon the death of the Cardinal King, Henry, on 31 January 1579-80, but was driven out by the Duke of Alva, who conquered the country in the name of Philip II. England and France supported Don Antonio's cause intermittently for political purposes until the miserable failure of an English invasion of Portugal in 1589. (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iii. p. 500 and *ad indices*. See also references in *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign*.)

is not to give way to ' passion or furye,' but to act ' within the compasse of possibillitie decencye and justice.' All reasonable men consider that ' he hath sufficiently discharged the dutie of a sonne in meadiatinge for his mother so longe as she was alive and so moche as he was able to prevaile.' Only self-seekers would urge him to do more.

It is false to represent that his negotiations to save his mother's life have already hopelessly alienated the English nobility and commons. They understood that such conduct was natural so long as hope remained, but they trust that now ' reason will induce him to ende sorrowinge and thinkinge of her in due tyme now seinge she is dead.'

My desire ' of the continewaunce of amitie betwene the twoe crounes ' has caused me to write at such length ; and I trust that you will also do your endeavour ' to the end that happie conclusion may ensue hereof, which shall tend to the common weale of the whole ilande.'

From the court at Greenwich, 4 March 1586.

Original, autograph signature, slits along margin, 4 pp. Vol. A, 237.
Printed in Spottiswoode, ii. 365 ; a longer letter, expounding the arguments at greater length, is calendared in *C.S.P.*, ix. no. 331.

IV

Written statement of Robert Carey's credit

[*c.* 14 March 1586-7.]

The Queen sent me to tell your Majesty the truth about your mother's death and ' her innocency therin.' I have notified her how you denied me audience. But as she is anxious ' to have yow certyfyed aright ' she has ordered me to deliver my message and letters to two of your councillors, if you refuse to admit me. I have therefore committed my instructions to writing so that ' no words may be mistaken.'

First : The Queen commanded me to say that she never intended to put your mother to death. She would not be persuaded thereto even by ' the dayly perswasions of her counsall,' or by the prayers of ' the nobilitie, knights and gentlemen,' or by ' the howerly owtcryes ' of her ' poore people and commynalty.'

Moreover, not even ' new occasiones ' could move her to proceed against your mother's life. First, she had daily reports that France and Spain were preparing forces for her ruin and the deliverance of the Queen of Scots. Secondly, rumours of invasion were spread throughout the country and even at court ; and she had much difficulty in appeasing the general alarm. Lastly, on top of these rumours came a report ' that Fothringham was broken open and the Quene escaped awaye.'

The object of all this was to arouse her Majesty's fears and suspicions. Therefore to be prepared for emergencies she ordered a warrant to be made out empowering her Council to do what they thought best with your mother. She committed it to the custody of Mr. Secretary Davison with the intention that if any new attempt should be made on behalf of the Queen of Scots to the ' imminent dainger ' of my own mistress's life, then it should be delivered to her Council to be used at their discretion. The Secretary was charged to keep this warrant secret until further orders, but, contrary to her will and pleasure, he showed it to two or three of the counsellors, who, without more ado, summoned the whole Council, determined upon your mother's death, and carried it out before the Queen knew of it. Davison is now in the Tower, and is like to be visited by ' her highe displeasure.' [1]

This was the sum and substance of my message. If I could convey to you her ' so heavy a harte, and so discontented a countenance ' you would pity my mistress rather than ' blame her for the facte, which she never consented unto.' [2]

Original or copy, unsigned, 1¾ pp. Vol. A, 241.
Printed in *King James's Secret*, p. 195 ; a shortened form in Spottiswoode, ii. 363.

[1] Davison was committed to the Tower on 14 February, tried before the Star Chamber in March, and sentenced to a fine of 10,000 merks, and imprisonment during pleasure. The fine was apparently never paid ; and he was liberated in 1589. See his biography in *D.N.B.*, also *Eng. Hist. Review*, xliv. 104.

[2] The diplomatic relations of James and Elizabeth in the period immediately after the execution of Mary are summarised in *King James's Secret.*

V

Oration delivered in the English College at Rheims, 22 May 1587, before Charles Cardinal of Bourbon, Charles Cardinal of Vendôme, Charles Cardinal of Vaudemont, Louis Cardinal of Guise, Henry Duke of Guise, Charles Duke of Mayenne, Charles Duke of Elbœuf and others.

The statement of St. Jerome *De Ecclesia Catholica*, that the Catholic Church can be assailed but cannot be overthrown, we find to be very true if we consider either how Mohammedanism has propagated far and wide through Asia and Greece, or how heathenism and Turkism (*Gentilismum et Turcismum*) by the rage of Vandals and Arians have permeated all Africa. For we know that in Africa and Asia and in Constantinople itself, the imperial city of the Turks, and in all other kingdoms of Asia to the utmost borders of the east, the Catholic churches, planted long ago by the earliest apostles, have flourished amid the darkness of heathenism unto our day. And lately, although, grief to say, O our most unhappy England !, with the cruellest tyrannies in the memory of man the father of our Jezebel (as she may be popularly called), seeing the Apostolic See an adversary of his nefarious and incestuous marriage, despoiled that See and the Catholic faith throughout his realm, yet, notwithstanding, in spite of the tyrant and his sanguinary laws the public profession flourishes in tribunals, in prisons, in persecutions, in cages, on gallows, and in a manner with infinite bloodshed of holy martyrs ; and by the grace of God it begins to blossom again. In this most Christian realm of France, also, how greatly the heretics have worked to overturn and destroy, root and branch, the glory of the Apostolic See and the ancient faith planted by the first apostolic bishops, St. Nicasius of Rouen and Sixtus of Rheims, and by other apostolic men everywhere (this faith which France, above all the kingdoms of Christendom, had preserved inviolate and unspotted for so many centuries, routing the enemies of the truth). Crimes have been committed in many provinces of France ; churches overthrown ; monasteries burned ; thousands of priests and religious hanged (*suspensa*) ; the holy tombs of kings and saints violated ; the funeral monuments even of the House of Bourbon demolished in despite of their distinguished royal blood ; with an infinity of other nefarious deeds.

And whither does not their unbridled licence drive them ? Whither does not their hate and fury drive them against their highest interests, against their peers, against the Christian people, nay, the universal Church ? What have they omitted in pillaging the people, slaughtering princes and spilling the blood of saints ? Whither do their daily artifices, guile, fraud, blandishments and perjuries tend, if not to overturning the Church and Christian Commonwealth ? What else do they plot with greatest zeal and impiety ? But Almighty God foresaw the most powerful means to kill heresy in this most Christian realm of France, whereas, because our poor England was lacking therein, He afflicted the Church with great tyrannies, wore out the faithful, most wonderfully scattered the clergy, forced princes and peers, nothing daring for God, country, ancient faith or Catholic Church, to serve and flatter like miserable slaves.

And in France far otherwise ! There, the Catholic nobility, by the singular grace of God and a certain natural goodness, and with greatness of spirit for hard things undertaken for the glory of Christ, were much more well-inclined and eager : whereof the conflicts and glorious victories of Dreux, St. Denis, Jarnac, Moncontour supply to us the most illustrious evidences, where the princes and peers of France, despising all the difficulties, held out helping hands for the saving of the glory of France and the Catholic faith. But in this nothing is more memorable than that most Holy League of Catholic peers which convened more than two years ago for preserving the faith ; in which shone the valour and fortitude of many princes, dukes and counts of France, and yours among the first, most excellent prince, Charles, Cardinal of the House of Bourbon, worthy pillar of the Church in France, ornament

of the Christian state, most illustrious of the senators of your order, splendid in honour, in sagacity and greatness of mind worthy of your royal race.[1] Not otherwise than Maccabeus, offspring of Mattathias, do the present princes of the late Francis Duke of Guise, glorious martyr of Christ,[2] and do the other Catholic nobles in France prudently follow you as leader, and honour you as father. Thus everyone of the entire holy confederacy knew and venerated you as the cause, head and fount; and certainly among all your other peerless deeds undertaken honourably in hall, wisely in the State or devoutly in the Church, this one is supreme and unique in the judgment of all wise and prudent men, and you have thereby adorned as with a royal, or rather imperial, crown that venerable head of yours and those revered grey hairs, and you have approved yourself the heir of St. Louis, the founder of the House of Bourbon, of whom, among the other royal and divine actions with which he ennobled the Bourbon stock and the universal Church before God and men, one in special is deservedly commemorated by historians. When he was waging war against the heretic Albigenses he could never be brought to Toulouse that he might make peace with Prince Raymond of Toulouse, unless he would give the strongest assurances to exterminate all heretics in that region without respect to blood or kinship:[3] a most holy zeal for God,

[1] This glowing character of the Cardinal was not unanimously held. The editor of the *Lettres missives de Henri IV.* notes that 'le peu d'ésprit de ce prélat était devenu proverbial' (ii. 276 n.). On the ground of religion the Holy League supported the claims of the Cardinal of Bourbon to the exclusion of Henry of Navarre from the succession to the French crown. (See *Warrender Papers*, i. 185.)

[2] Francis Duke of Guise, the hero of the battle of Dreux, was assassinated by a Huguenot fanatic in February 1562-3.

[3] The crusades against the Albigenses went on intermittently and with varying fortunes for twenty years. Religious motives were intermixed with political considerations. It was also a war between north and south; and ended in extending the power of the royal house. By the peace of 1228 Count Raymond VII. was bound to prosecute the Albigenses, but he himself, although the centre of the Albigensian hopes, was as orthodox as the crusading leaders themselves. Moreover, it is misleading to attribute a decisive part to the boy king, Louis IX. The attack on Toulouse was

which his grandson followed, Louis Count of Claremont, first Duke of Bourbon,[1] whom the French named Louis the Great on account of his excellent virtues and wondrous piety.

And thus among the heretics we see to come in use (*usu venire*) a desire to overturn the Catholic faith and to stabilise their foolish heresy. The heretics pay heed to no laws, divine or human, to no ancient rights of kingdoms, to no holy privileges of kings and princes, to no kinship of flesh or blood. Take for instance that tyrant, Henry of England, who, inhuman as a bear, sparing not age or sex or condition, most cruelly slaughtered all his kindred who opposed his will. Another example is our monstrous Jezebel, who now, unhappily, rules the kingdom of England to the hurt of us and ours. What do I say? Nay to the hurt, truly, of the whole Christian world and of the Catholic Church. Our illegitimate Queen is worse than all the tyrants of all Christendom,—a female tyrant who has exercised her impiety against another woman, her own flesh and blood, her holy kinswoman, the Queen of Scotland. Horrors! she shed the blood of her royal kindred. May Our Lady avenge the blood of her saints which has been poured out! Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O princes and peoples of the earth, to the monstrous example of heresy; and marvel at her, a most impious tyrant, a bloody wolf, a rabid dog, who with precipitate and rash boldness slew a woman, erstwhile Queen of your France, Queen of Scotland, the fairest hope of England, and our most innocent princess, nowise deserving such a fate, invited lovingly and hospitably to England and then convicted of crimes.

Nor did she think it enough to have deprived her of

inspired by Blanche of Castile, the Queen Regent, and Count Raymond had joined a confederation of nobles against her government. (See Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, chap. xvii.; and biographies of Raymond VI. and Raymond VII. in Mignet.)

[1] Robert de Claremont, sixth son of St. Louis, married Beatrix de Bourgoyne, the heiress. Their eldest son, Louis le Grand, was created first Duke of Bourbon in 1327. (Mas Latrie, 1566.)

her paternal and ancient kingdom of Scotland, to have deprived her of her hereditary right in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, to have despoiled her of liberty, to have thrown her into chains and prisons, and, because of her spirit, to have defamed our most noble lady among the lowest dregs of the people and in the hall of princes, and by the worst revilers to have bereft her for the space of almost twenty years of all royal magnificence, all glory, splendour and domestic comfort, nor once to admit her into her presence (O wild, barbaric fierceness, incredible to posterity !), to have repulsed the strongest sureties offered by the mighty kings of France and Spain for liberating her, against her to have stirred up her subjects and her dearest son, the Prince of England and Scotland, so that she, wicked and impious Athaliah, might utterly extinguish the lamp of the house of Israel. But she, that most cruel tyrant, must deprive of life such a sacred prince, having in her breast manly courage and constancy of mind, her superior far by birth and origin and the law of kingdoms, the ornament of the family of Lorraine, the Phoenix of the North, safe according to the hospitality of Scythian and barbarian : and, unheard of example among the nations, she must deprive her of life with the most revolting cruelty in the memory of man, even by the hand of a public executioner like a murderer or traitor, to the great disgrace of the House of Lorraine, to the greatest contumely of her son, the King of Scots, and in public contempt of all Christian princes.

Would that the Catholic princes would propose to imitate in the cause of the faith what the others have done in the cause of heresy, themselves to do rightly what the others wrongfully, themselves by the example of the best princes what the others perpetrated by no example but led by the lust of their own will. Would that, taught by the example of the heretics, they would place divine glory and the defence of the Catholic Church before flesh and blood. Would that they might consider the glory of the Church, the propagation of religion, the honour of God and His Christ before the ties of kinship, as is right, and as becomes

Christian bishops and princes, to the contempt of danger and of life itself : for this is christian, episcopal, and royal greatness of mind, to despise all adversity, all calamity, all hardship for the name of Christ and the safety of the Catholic Church, and not to restrain or contaminate episcopal liberty or the dignity of Catholic princes by any vile treaty with heretics.

For the late invested (*praetextatus*) and brave archbishop and martyr of Christ,—and your predecessor in the Church of Rouen [1]—used to say freely in his capacity as archbishop that he should censure the prince of this realm by reason of many crimes committed against the State and God, and although threatened with exile he steadfastly replied. 'I, an old man,' said he, 'in exile or out of exile, have been, am, and will be a bishop, and at last from this exile I shall migrate to my celestial fatherland ; but you, you shall not always enjoy royal power, and when you [migrate] from this your kingdom, you will be precipitated into the deepest abyss of hell.' This is worthy the voice of a bishop, worthy the voice of a martyr of Christ. And (O ! most blessed prince !), although heretics of whatsoever title, name, or dignity they be,—counts, dukes, princes, kings—may rage against your christian piety and constancy, against so many labours endured for the faith of Christ, against so many difficulties undertaken for the glory of the Church, and although, as the prophet says, 'they may open their mouths against the heavens and thrust out their tongues to blaspheme,' [2] and although they do not blush shamelessly to call you the betrayer of your own blood and of the family of Bourbon,[3] you, however, always have been, are, and will be a Christian Bishop, you

[1] George de Ambasia, Archbishop of Rouen, died 25 August 1550. (Eubel, *Hier. Cath. Med. Aev.*, iii. 305.)

[2] The passages which he has in mind seem to be Psalm lxxii. 8-9 (Vulgate), lxxiii. 8-9 (Authorised Version) ; Isaiah, lii. 5.

[3] His two brothers, Anthony Duke of Bourbon and Louis Prince of Condé, were Huguenots. Presumably it was by the difference in religion that the Cardinal was called the 'betrayer of your own blood.' On the death of Henry III. he was set up by the League as the titular Charles X. in opposition to his nephew, Henry of Navarre, but died in 1590.

have been, are, and will be, the basis and firmament of your family and of this most Christian realm ; and when you have died in your most holy tasks and toils undertaken for the glory of Christ, you will migrate from this miserable exile to your fatherland on high, and will consecrate an immortal name. For this is the glory of Saints Hilarius, Martin, Eutropius, Exuperius, John, and all the other most blessed guardians of this realm, that for the sake of Christ they undertook indefatigable labours, that they would never enter into treaty and peace with heretics, sworn enemies of Christ and Holy Mother Church, but would overthrow them more fiercely to the last breath with discourses, books, writings, and in all other ways whatsoever extirpate them and declare eternal war against them.

And I should very deservedly seem the most ungrateful of mortals, if I passed over in utter silence that excellent youth Charles, Cardinal of Vendôme, to be perpetually celebrated with many epithets (*multis nominibus*) by all this concourse (*frequentia*) of English, either because this house of ours has proved him a most beneficent and liberal patron, because we all look upon him—and rightly so—as the stock and glorious shoot of the House of Bourbon ; but much more because he is walking so piously in the steps of this his most excellent and holy uncle, who holds him as his son ;[1] but most of all because, despising the allurements and contagions of the heretics whereby he might have been destroyed as by the songs of the sirens and been led away from the strait road of Catholic truth, he placed the glory of Christ, the peace of the Church, the propagation of the Catholic religion and the increase of the Catholic faith before all the pleasures or emoluments of this world.

But it is right to transfer this christian glory to you also, mighty Cardinals, Charles and Louis, and likewise to you, peerless Dukes, Henry and the other Charles and those who have joined their strength with you in this holy

[1] Charles de Bourbon de Vendôme was appointed coadjutor to his uncle in Rouen in 1582, and promoted to the cardinalate in December 1583. (Eubel, iii. 305, 52.)

confederation, by whose presence, countenance and names we are refreshed and recreated. For you have been hitherto, and now much more are, and always shall be while you strive in this contest, the leaders, champions and patrons of the Gallic Church ; you have erected yourselves as a wall for the house of Israel, and have declared yourselves the true descendants of Godfrey of Bouiogne, your kinsman, who carried the standard of victory to the extreme East for recovering the Holy Land from the hand of the Saracens. Time and voice would fail me adequately to tell of your prowess for State and Church, or to recall to mind anything of your ancient victories, anything of your forefathers, anything of the merits of Claud your grandfather, of Francis your father, of Charles, Louis, Henry, Claud, Réné, your uncles, on behalf of the State and God. It is known to all with what great sagacity lately you anticipated the wiles and frauds of the heretics, with what fortitude you dissipated the plots and secret meetings of the adversaries in all Guienne, Gascony, Burgundy, Picardy, and Normandy ; how great a calamity—even the utter ruin of the Catholic faith,—how many slaughters and massacres of priests, how many violences done to religious, how many burnings of monasteries, how many ravishings of nuns, how many profanations of saints and sacraments, how many exiles, prisons, spoliations and murders of peers, dukes, and counts, how many blasphemies of God and His Christ you have warded off from our heads by the danger of your head and blood, with the help of divine grace.

How God has always miraculously assisted in this zeal and religion of the princes and peers of France striving against the heretics, each and all of the historians of France and Italy bear witness. Formerly the Saracens and Aryans, having joined forces under King Abdirame,[1] to the number of four thousand from France and Spain poured themselves over your France, with pride and incredible arrogance (which is the characteristic of heretics) promising them-

[1] Abd-ur-Rahmân. The battle here referred to was fought in 732 between Tours and Poitiers, and stemmed the tide of Saracen conquest.

selves the victory over the French, whom they outnumbered by ten to one. Nevertheless Charles Martel, of happy memory (kinsman of Pipin and Charles the Great) fell upon them with his Catholics and put them to flight, and lost scarcely fifteen hundred of his own men. I speak a thing almost incredible, but fully testified by the records of all historians. On the plains of Touraine, to the eternal glory of the French name, he cut in pieces three hundred and seventy-five thousand with the Saracen king. Not other was the courage of the Count of Montfort. When besieged in the Gascon town of Mureto [1] by the Albigenses, and when Peter, King of Aragon, boastfully threatened his entire destruction unless he surrendered, he, delaying nothing, and not terrified by the fewness of his own men or the huge multitude of the enemy, did not desire some worthless peace ; but with Christian and heroic fortitude of mind, utterly loathing treaty with heretics, the enemies of Christ, he rose with only twelve hundred men, and having slain the King himself, overthrew and laid low a hundred thousand of the adversaries.

Lastly, there remains to tell the wars of Charlemagne and his victories in Italy against the Lombards, in Gascony against the Aryans, in Germany against the Saxon apostates, in Flanders against the Frisians, in Spain against the Saracens and heretics. Your histories and annals are full of the deeds of that most glorious prince. This one thing only will I say—and one which historians have deservedly remarked—that he scarcely ever undertook a war unless for the Catholic religion ; with heretics he never entered into treaty or peace, and Almighty God crowned his exemplary

[1] The battle of Muret, 1213, where Simon de Montfort defeated and killed Peter II. of Aragon. This was an incident in an Albigensian crusade ; but the war had ' assumed a political as well as a religious character, for Simon was resisted not only by reason of his orthodoxy, but as a Northern interloper who had made religious zeal a pretext for personal aggrandisement.' Peter was not a heretic, but ' a famous Crusader beyond the Pyrenees.' He had intervened as a mediator in the strife, and Innocent III. would have accepted his offers. It was the French who were intransigent, and out of irritation Peter then championed the heretic cause. (Tout, *Empire and the Papacy*, 400-401.)

piety and christian courage with most excellent and almost incredible victories. And as for you, although the critics rage you will go as Codrus, for you are the stock of that Emperor Charlemagne, of Pipin and St. Louis, Kings of the French. You emulate their virtues, zeal, piety, constancy of mind, courage, and implacable hatred against heretics. Of those by whose aid and help most excellent things have been accomplished for the Apostolic See and Commonwealth, the Universal Church testifies that they are most worthy who, even now reigning in heaven, are blessed with such offspring upon earth.

For such you are and always have been, as your sainted forefathers had desired you. Under the Emperor Maximilian and the Venetian Republic you have adorned your youthful years by waging war on land and sea against the cruel Turks. You have consecrated your maturer years to preserving your fatherland against the heretics, fiercer far than Turks. To you, Henry, we, passing over many things in silence, have ascribed the defence of Poitou, the soldiers slaughtered at Mongoutier (*ad Mongouterium oppidum Bipontini*), Toraeus put to flight to the borders of France (of which you bear the splendid memory in your serene countenance),[1] the troops of heretics often slaughtered on French soil, cities taken, and many other things worthy of eternal memory. To you, Charles, we owe the recovery of Guienne from the jaws of the heretics, the courageous capture near La Rochelle, Dauphiné pacified, Burgundy protected from the ravages of the heretics, cities reduced to the royal obedience, innumerable camps stormed in Gascony : to you, in short, France garlanded, the ancient faith restored.

And we hope that, inasmuch as you have been the singular patrons and defenders of this afflicted, exiled, wretched and poor Church of Englishmen, which was planted in Rheims [2] under your fatherly care, your auspices,

[1] From a scar which resulted from a wound in his face at the battle of Dormans (1575) Guise received his father's nickname of *Le Balafré*.

[2] An English seminary for the training of priests had been founded by Cardinal Allen at Douai in 1568 ; but between the years 1578-1593 it was

your favour and benevolence,—so, being delivered from these exigencies, under your auspices it may be propagated and increased through England, so that at length when this evil of persecution against us and our brethren shall cease—a persecution which in these days our ageing Jezebel foments more and more—England which was of old freed by French bishops from pagan darkness, now heretic and worse than pagan, may be won back by the glorious Dukes and Princes of the French to its ancient liberty and religion, so that you, destined to receive reward equally for preserving the Catholic religion in France and restoring it in England, shall join the company of your sainted ancestors, Nicasius, Sixtus, Praetentatus, Remigius—worthiest of rulers,—Godfrey of Boulogne, Pipin, Charlemagne, Louis, Francis of Guise and innumerable other noble heroes in your celestial fatherland.

Dixi.[1]

Copy, Latin, 6 pp. Vol. A, 36.

VI

Reasons conjectured for the present affaires betweene Spaigne and England and the United Provincis of the Lowe Cuntries.

[*c.* June 1587.]

That the kinge of Spaigne shoulde be disposed to harken to the generall peace, theis inducementis are to be considered.

transferred to Rheims, where the Guise influence was powerful. The orator was addressing patrons of his College as well as supporters of the Catholic cause in France.

[1] The orator does not give any indication of his identity, but he may have been Francis Tregian, a theological student who 'had evidently a reputation for eloquence, as he had been chosen . . . to pronounce the complimentary address to Mgr. Sega, Bishop of Piacenza, in August 1591. Tregian finally returned to England and died a prisoner in the Fleet in 1619.' He also pronounced the funeral oration of Cardinal Allen, and is mentioned in his will: 'Francis Tregian, chamberlain, had served two years. Very noble, 20 years of age, a secular, of great talent, learned in philosophy, in music, and in the Latin tongue.' (See Martin Haile, *An Elizabethan Cardinal: William Allen*, pp. 360 and n., 372.)

1. His great want of men of warre both by sea and land, aswell in the Lowe Cuntries as at home in Spaigne.

2. His want of shippinge either to annoy us, or to defend his owne coastis (if the troubles contynue).

3. The discontentmentis of his subjectis of the mayne land of Spaigne for the interrupcion of trade to the Indies, and of his subjectis of the islandes, for want of thaccustomed trade betweene us and them.

4. The doubt of innovacions in Portugall.

5. The doubt her Majesti will accept the soveraingty of Holland.

6. The danger of contynuall interceptinge the treasure comminge from the Indies; and further domagis that maie be wroughte there as well by spoiles as by stirringe the people to practizes.

7. The disgrace and losse he shall receave by thannoyauncis that may bee done to the port townes in Spaigne (if her Majesty shall be provoked to offer such violence.)

8. That this peace should have continuaunce on the kinge of Spaignes part, towards England.

9. Because the kinge being of great age, is rather inclyned to peace then warre.

10. That he hath desire to leave a good estate to his sonne, aswell in respect of his yonge yeares, as his owne impotentie.

11. The doubt of the successor in England (whosoever it shall bee) may be dispozed to prosecute the warres with greater vehemencie then yett.

12. The succeedinge of the king of Navarre unto the crowne of France,[1] who for manie reasons that may be alleadged, will renue the old quarrell of the crowne of France for the kingdome of Navarre, and also of Neaples and Millaine.

13. The doubt of chaunginge the Empire from the house

[1] Henry of Navarre succeeded to Henry III. as King of France on 2 August 1589. (Mas Latrie, 1526.) His 'succeedinge' is here considered as a prospective event.

of Austria to some other prince,[1] who may bee mooved to embrace the proteccion of the Lowe Cuntries (if the troubles shall continue there), or elles pick some quarrelles for the matters of Italy.

14. The fearinge of the Turks greatnes, by prevailing in Persia [2] lyis necessity of repairinge and establishinge his aucthority in the Indies.

That this peace shoulde have contynuance on the kinge of Spaignes syde towardis the States and people of the Lowe Cuntries.

1. Yf the warres continue, or be renued, he should drive the said Cuntries to seek annother lord, and hassard the intire losse therof by thoccupacion of other princes.

2. The remembraunce of the discomodities he hath receaved by the alienacion of the said Cuntries ever since the warres beganne.

3. The great revenues that shall accrue unto him by the quiet possession of theis Cuntries, aswell by restitucion of his former ordinary revenues as by the peoples contribucions.

4. The great meanes he shall leave to his successor in those Cuntries of money, men, municion, shippinge, and other necessaries for the warres to wistand the danger imminent to his dominions from the French.

That the Queenes Majesty should harken to this peace.

1. Because her sex for [*sic*] yeares, her naturall disposicion to quietnes.

2. The discomodities the whole realme suffereth, lacking vent for our cloth by thaccustomed trade into the king of Spaignes dominions.[3]

[1] About June 1587 it was rumoured that 'the Princes of Germany, to bridle the Emperor withall, are bent to chose a King of the Romans and make especially mention of the King of Denmark his young son.' (*C.F.P.*, 1586-1588, p. 326.)

[2] The *Calendar of Foreign Papers* (1586-1588) has various references to the course of the war between the Turks and Persians.

[3] Mr. Read points out that about this time 'a great deal of pressure was being brought to bear upon her [Elizabeth] by mercantile interests in England to terminate the war. There can be no manner of doubt that the English cloth trade overseas was suffering very greatly from the continuance of hostilities.' (*Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, iii. 256.)

3. The decay of her Majesties custome by seasing of traffique.

4. The doubt of annoyaunce that may be wrought unto her by the way of Scotland.

5. The want of treasure to sustaine the warres without burtheninge of her subjectis, which in that tyme is not convenient but daungerous.

That the States of the Lowe Cuntries should harken to this peace.

1. Because of their owne presente weakenes, the long continuaunce of warre, and the smale meanes they have to resist so mightie a prince (as the king of Spaigne is) without forraigne assistaunce.

2. Their doubt that the Queene of England will withdrawe her support [1] unlesse they shall frame themselves to such condicions of peace as her Majeste shall thinck reasonable.

3. The good respectis they ought to carry to her Majesties perswasions for her deserts towards them.

4. The discontentment the people will enter into, if they shall perceave that peace is rejected, and the warres nourished for private grudges.

5. The losse of this presente opportunity of the king of Denmarks mediacion, whereof peradventure they shall have no use herafter.[2]

6. The burthen of their consciencis, by being aucthors of the effusion of christian bloud, and other extremities of warre, without just cause.

Reasons of conjecture what doubtis may be made of

[1] Leicester was recalled from his command in the Netherlands in November 1587, and departed from Zeeland on 2 December. (*H.P.*, iii. 297; *C.F.P.*, 1586-1588, p. 444.) He first went out in December 1585, and was chosen Governor in 1586. (See *D.N.B.*)

[2] In May 1587 Frederick II., King of Denmark, offered to mediate between England and Spain, and suggested Emden as a place of conference between the delegates of Elizabeth and Parma. Elizabeth would have welcomed peace at this time, but nothing came of the overtures. (*C.F.P.*, pp. 323, 335-336, 557; C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, iii. 261 ff.)

unsound meaninge of the king of Spaigne, concerninge this peace.

Hee will not depart unfaignedly from the Holy League, by reason he is sworne to the execucion of the Councell of Trent and also bound therunto by secreat oathe.

That he will not forsake such profictis as he receaveth by indulgencis, crusadoes, and other permissions, for leavinge of money geven him by the Church of Roome especially graunted him uppon pretence of prosequutinge warres against Heretiques.

That he shall be deswaded, not only by the Pope but by the catholique Princis of Italy, uppon the doubt they will conceave, that the beeinge free from warre in theis partis, may in tyme moove some troubles amongis them, whose supremacy they already feare, and therfore to kepe him busyed they will not stick to make offer of assistance to continue in warre heare.

That by meanes of peace he will have nothing to doe with his men of warre, which will greatly discontent them.

For theis causes he will either refuse to enter into peace or not maintaine it cincerely; but use it as an advantage to repaire his present wantis, and having gotten by his possession of the Lowe Cuntries meanes to annoy us, he will easely find occasion, either for desire of revenge or ambicion to conquer, which his martiall will perswade him unto, to renue his quarrelles against this realme. Notwithstanding theis reasons whiche may be made against the kingis sound meaninge, yet if they be well compared to the other reasons which have been alleadged for his willinglynes to embrace the peace, they will not be found sufficient to counterpoize the same.

Therfore, seing it appeares that there be reasons of all partis to enclyne to accord, yt resteth to consider of what condicions the peace ought to consist off to satisfie eache part that is interressed therein; for the better understanding wherof it shall be needfull, first to lay downe what greifes and unkindnesses doe remaine, either betweene the Queen of England and the kinge of Spaigne, or betwixt the

kinge and his subjectis of the Lowe Cuntries, from whome theis troubles have tooke their begynningis, that so the roote of the sore being laid open yt may the more easely appeare, what remedie shalbe meet to be applied therunto.

The King of Spaine his greifis against the Queene of England.

1. The stay made heretofore of certen treasure of his going into the Lowe Cuntries.

2. The yelding of support of men and money to the States.

3. The entring and support geven to Don Anthonio.

4. The spoiles done by Sir Fra. Drake uppon his subjectis the Indians.

5. The spoiles committed uppon diverse his townes by our late armies and sundrie tymes by shippes of warre, by vertue of lettres reprisall.

6. The open embracinge of the cause of the Lowe Cuntries, by permitting her Majesties commaunders to take uppon them the goverment of the Lowe Cuntries.

The Queene of Englandes greiff against the king of Spaigne.

1. Because ymediatly after her comming to the crowne and many times synce he hath geven diverse arguments of unsound disposicion towards her; as by refusing to renue the treaties, being therunto requested: by the yll using her ambassadors against the lawe of nacions; as also of her subjectis trading into Spaigne, which was the cause of her Majesties proceedinge afterwardis: whereat he tooke offence.

2. The intelligence which his ministers in the Lowe Cuntries and his ambassadors here had with the rebelles in the North (of which rebellion he was the greatest procurer).

3. The harboring of diverse of the said rebelles, being fugitives and gevinge pencions unto them.

4. The sending of forces into Ireland, aswell with James

Fitz Maurice [1] as after with certen Italians and Spanish captaines to assist the Earl of Desmond.[2]

5. The diverse treasons which have been supported by him to kill and poyson the Queene.

The Kinge of Spaine his greif against his subjectis of the Lowe Cuntries.

The taking of armes against him and his subjectis, governinge in the Lowe Cuntries.

The renouncing their obedience to him, and submittinge themselves and others to the Duke of Anjou (as to their soveraigne lord bye oath).[3]

The prosequutinge of the warres synce that tyme in the name of the States and United Provinces.

The callinge of forraigne assistance into their cuntrey and deliveringe his townes into the handis of straungers.

The detayninge of his revenue and such other acts of hostillitie (as have fallen out synce that warre beganne).

Greiffis of the people of the Lowe Cuntries against the Kinge of Spaigne.

His goinge about to place Spaniardis in guarrisons.

Copy, incomplete, 2⅓ pp. Vol. A, 289.

VII

Legation for the kingis marriage and som other notis, 1587.[4]

[In sequence of chronological order, Parts IV, VI, III should be read first.]

[1] James Fitzmaurice, or Fitzgerald, had revolted against England in 1569. In 1575 he fled to France, and afterwards sought help from the Pope and Spain. With meagre support from these latter powers, he landed at Dingle Bay in July 1579 on an ill-fated expedition which accomplished nothing. (Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham, ad indices.*)

[2] Gerald Fitzgerald, fourteenth Earl of Desmond, died 1583.

[3] The sovereignty of the Netherlands was bestowed upon Anjou by the Treaty of Plessis-les-Tours in September 1580. He withdrew to France in 1583.

[4] Endorsement. Placed here as a heading, because it indicates the miscellaneous nature of the contents of the document.

I

In commentario secundae legationis Danicae anni 1587.

The lord of Barnbaroch [1] and Sir Peter Young [2] directit by the King with advyse of the Estatis to propone marriage with Denmark embarkit at Leyth the last of May and landit at Elsinure the 8 of Junij, welcommit by the captain of the castel callit Crowneburgh,[3] the King of Denmark hafinge partit three dayis of befor for Zutland.

Howsoon he heard of ther arrival he made daye, assigning ther audience at Anderschaw [4] after som aught dayis. The chancellar refussit to see them befoir thai had been with the king. Their namis and the namis of the cumpany wer cravit and sent by post to the king. Gaspar Paslik ane Alman that had servit the king long wes sent to welcum them at the town of Sluitz offering presence the next morn at ther pleasure and sayinge that if the mater of Orkney wer at a point al other thingis wold frame well.

The nixt day quhich wes the 27 of Junij Paslick sent to excuse the audience by reason of the kingis trouble with the toothache, and schew that the king had appointit the

[1] Sir Patrick Vaus of Barnbarroch, a senator of the College of Justice. The decision to send the embassy to Denmark was taken as early as 26 March, 'whill as yitt the memorie of the executioun of his mother was recent in men's mindes.' (Calderwood, iv. 612.) The ambassadors had returned and made a report to King and Council on 11 October. (*P.C.*, iv. 219.) See Vaus's Journal of his Journey in *Correspondence of Sir Patrick Vaus*, 1540-1597, pp. 396-400.

[2] Peter Young of Seton, a man of wide learning, had been the King's tutor along with George Buchanan. See the account of his life in *D.N.B.* The letter commendatory which he carried from James to Frederick II. is printed in Halliwell, *Letters of Kings of England*, ii. 79.

[3] Daniel Rogers, an English agent, wrote in August 1588 that Gert Ranzow, Constable of the Castle and jurisdiction of Kronenburgh, and Captain of the King's Guards, thirty-one years of age, 'hath seen the most part of Europe, having besides been at Constantinople and in Egipte.' He spoke many languages, and 'is a man that hath great desseins, borne to great honnor, and offreth his service unto her Majesty.' (Ellis, *Original Letters*, second series, III. no. ccxxxiii. p. 150.)

[4] Antvorskov; formerly a royal residence.

chancellar [1] with Mandrop Barsbeik and Henry Belo [2] to conferre with them. They answerit that ther commission wes only to the kinge.

The chancellar and these other schortly cumming Paslik in name of the rest said that thai wer directit from the king, seing he wes stayit by that accident to heare tham himself, to conferre and reason of thingis that thai myt be broght to a point with the mor speid, the king being not purposit to staye any longe tym thair. Thai answerit as before, and that no men culd be more acceptit to them but ther commission wes to the kinge, quhom thai wold first see.

They entiring more particularly said that it wes not unknown to them how 2 yearis before ther master had directit ambassadoris for the redemption of Orkney, and that promise wes made that the mater suld be concludit befoir a tym then [3] expyrit: prayit tham to enter and treat therof, as thai wer ready for ther partis to doe. The ambassadoris answerit that the tym wes not yit cummit and that thai had no commission for that busines.

They desyrit conference of the chancellar alone, quhiche he declynit without his masteris licence, and hafing obteynit it, cam in the afternoon again. The king of Scotland had writtin to him, siklyk the chancellar of Scotland, by quhiche he took up that he prest for furder friendschip.

Heirupon thai fel in conference, and being satisfiit in 2 thingis, first that the kingis affection wes constant to the kinge, nixt that the Princesse Elizabeth quhom thai cam to seik wes uncontracted, thai reveallit ther erand quhich wes for marriage. Sir Peter wes sent the yeir before to salute the king and see the princesse, quhom thai wer now cummit directly to suit if it myt stand with the kingis lyking, quhairin thai prayit him to sound the king.

Returning the nixt day, he schew that he had spoken

[1] Nicholas Kaas.

[2] These are Mandropius Parsberg and Henry Belovius, who were sent by Frederick II. in the embassy to Scotland in 1585. (Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 52.) Melville calls them Manderupius and Bello.

[3] This word has been altered, as if the scribe had meant to change *then* to *now*.

the king but not at lysure: that thai suld haif audience the nixt day, and that he fearit the mater of Orkney myt be a stoppe in the busines.

The nixt morning Parsbucke and Belo cam to convoye tham and thai had presence, quhair thai delyverit ther letteris, quhich wer lovingly acceptit. Being desyrit to dinner with the king, eftir the first service wes set on table, the king excusing his indisposition retirit to his chambir with Ramelius, leaving his Councile to entertean tham. As thai wer sitting the king returnis, causis set a chair at table and drank his salute *regis*, quhich wes pledgit by al.

The nixt day, quhich wes the last of Junij, the chancellar and Ramelius cam unto tham, and excusit that thai had not been ofter admittit in respect of the kingis diseas, and sen he wes to part the nixt day, thai wer sent to desyre them present the kingis commendation to his brother and confederate.

The ambassadoris mervaling of this answerit that thai culd not beleive his Majesty wold depart til he thay [*sic*] had first kissit his hand, and gifen tham a direct answer to ther credit. They replyit that the mater of Orkney behovit first to be a point before thai enterit in another; that it wes the custom of Denmark to ende ane purpose befor the attempting of another, and otherwyse to enter in treaty of mariage wold seem *nundinatio parum honorifica* rather than an honist contracting of his doghtir, that the king wes preasit by his subjectis to mak the redemption, maid his oathe at his coronation so to doe,[1] and so culd not talk of suche a purpose til Orknay wes concludit.

The ambassadoris replyit that this wes an answerless answer to ther negotiation; that however it behovit them tak such answer as thai lykit to give; yit the king of Scotis must think ether thai had not proponit the mater as thai wer commandit, or else that the proposition wes dislyked, quhich culd not deserve kyndnes nor be wel taken; that

[1] Melville says that 'euery King of Denmark at his election, that is ane of the articles that is presented vnto hym be the estaitis to swer, to clame again the saidis yles.' (*Memoirs*, 343.)

honour stood not in the observation of dayis and in treating of materis first or last, and, in case it did, it wes unreasonable that with princes placed by God in equal degree the one suld prescrive to the other and refuse to answer so honorabill a proposition, if sik a mater wer not first treatit: that if it wer the Denst [1] custom they thankit God ther Scottisch customs wer different. Neither culd it be callit *nundinatio* as thai had said, seing no treaties of mariagis among princes wer made without pactions and certain conditions: that Christianus the first his grandfather quho wes also king of Sweden and Norway held it not an unhonest nundination [2] to bestow Margarit his only daughter wpon king James the third quho wes king of Scotland only and had no other apparance,[3] and with her the Ilis of Orkney and Zetland, and further quite al title and clame to the West Ilis, discharging the yeirly pension payit therfor; nor did any that heard of it think that his reputation wes therin touchit. Mekle lesse wald any think the king to play the merchant if he suld enter in commoning for one of his daughteris with a prince of sik virtuis and expectation, albeit Orkney wer not first redeimit: that sik dealing appearit to schew a wearynes of old freindschip. For as to the mater of these Ilis, his majesty of Scotland regardit thame litle, drew smal commoditie of them and held them his owin, and that it wes the regard of old amitie that movit him to seek the renuing of former freindschip: that nether wes the tym cummit, nor the king of perfyt age, nor culd he doe therin without advyse of his Estatis, and that the king of Denmarkis answer the yeir preceding wes far other, namly that he wald gladly heare of any other purpose quhill that mater of Orkney wes depending, and that besidis his letteris he had sent his own picture his quenis and eldest daughter with Sir Peter, quhich wes a sort of assurance that he suld haif her befor any other prince: that these thingis had bred in the king

[1] Denst=Danish.

[2] Nundination=a buying and selling. The first instance of its use, quoted in the *New English Dictionary*, is dated 1623.

[3] An allusion to the expectation of James VI. of the English succession.

of Scotis an ardent affection towardis that lady, and quhat suld mak now a change thai did not consider: that he had postponit other princis quho by ther ambassadoris soght unto him, and now to be so lightlyit [1] and not resaif an answer, thai did tak it for great unkyndnes.

Many wordis utterit to this purpose Ramelius made, that the king wes nothing changit in affection, lovit to keip old freindschip, and suld mak it appear if once Orkney wer setlit quhiche yit he regardit not, tho he knew these Ilis to be profitable and that he myt want them as his forbearis had done, but he wold not haif deteynit from him that quhich wes his and therfor desyrit to understand first quhat right the king of Scotis had to tham after quhich he suld declare his mynd, so as he did not refuise to gif answer but delayit the declaration of his mynd til at the tym approachinge it myt be seen who had best right unto them, and so myt deal more safely with his honour in the mariage; therfore desyrit them tak the kingis answer in good part and interpret it to the best.

The ambassadors replyit that the answer wold grieve his majesty and the quhole cuntrey quho caryit a greater lyking to this matche than any other, therfor desyrit sum more assurances of their kingis affection, quhairupon ambassadors myt be sent to treat further and gif satisfaction in that mater of Orkney as thai wold schew them selfs good instrumentis for preserving peace and amitie betwixt ther princes: in all quhich thai protestit that they spak not as ambassadoris but as privat men disyrouse of common quyetnes.

The lordis said that albeit thai expectit no other answer suld be had at that tym, yit they suld gif it an assay, adding alwayis that the captain of Crownenburg wes to be ther convoye and that at Copenhovin the reutmaster [2] suld present them with some rewardis.

The ambassadoris answerit that the propynis thai desyrit wes an good answer and hearty goodnight *haec luutia*

[1] lightlyit=slighted.

[2] reutmaster, apparently ritmester, or captain of horse.

lautissima [1] and that thai myt be permitted to goe the nearest way to ther shippis. In the mean tym Sir Peter enterit with Ramelius and schew quhat trust the king of Scotland had in him, that if he had been present at the first thai knew materis wold haif sorted better. But ther being time sufficient, he wold doe his best in it, quhich he promised.

Ramelius returning the next morning declarit he had been in hand with the king, quho as before prayit ws to tak in good part the kingis hastie departure and to remain two or three dayis at Elsinure before quhiche tym thai suld resaif a direct answer to ther secret proposition, adding thir wordis *Si talia mandata anno superiori allata fuissent, iam non amplius laboramus.*

The ambassadoris excusit that no sik commission culd be sent the yeir preceding and repeatit the diligence the king had usit etc.

The reutmasteris servant sent with the wagonis for ther convoye wold haif defrayit ther chargis, but al being payit (for the ambassadoris kept ther owne house) thai wold tak no mony back.

They parting that night quhiche wes the 1 of Julij cam to Roscild [2] a Bishop seat and the burial part of most of ther kingis. Ther Christians the first and second are magnificently intered.

Sonday thai dynit at Copenhoven and from the ruit-master resavit ther chainis. Doctor Nicholaus Thiophilus one of the ambassadoris to Scotland [3] made speeche for him.

Weddinsday the 5 of Julj Ramelius cam to them with a letter from the king, bearing that he had sent Nicholaus Caus de Tam [4] his Chanceller with Henricus Ramelius du

[1] This is apparently the reading. The scribe seems to have misread the second word, or to have misspelled it through carelessness. *Luutia* may be a misreading for *lutea*.

[2] Roskilde, formerly capital of Denmark, 20 miles west of Copenhagen. Its cathedral was founded in 980 A.D.

[3] In the embassy of 1585.

[4] This word is difficult. Daniel Rogers, the English agent, in 1588 called him ' Nicholas Kaas, Dominus de Tarup.' (Ellis, *Original Letters*, second series, III. no. ccxxxiii, p. 154.)

Berlischow his counsellour with som commission that thai suld trust.

And barnist [*sic* ? because] the credit wes gifen to the chancellar and him he brocht the chancellaris power with him in writ.

The credit wes that the king acknowledgit al to be true quhich thai had alledgit at Anderschow touching the good respect Sir Peter resavit the yeir preceding, the portraitis etc., but no particular proposition being made it wes left frie to the king to dispose of his daughter, and since that tym the eldest wes promised,[1] but for the second, Anna, if the king did lyk her, he suld haif her.

The ambassadoris answerit that it wes not the kingis fault but the winter that made the seas unpassable, the vexationis of his mother, the repressing of broken men and the lyk occasionis, and that it wold be hard to remove the kingis affection from the eldest.

Ramelius replying that the promise of the eldest wes unknown to them al and to him self til his return from Saxony and compassit by the queen her father ; that he had told him the yeir befor that in case diligence wer not usit the king myt be preventit, and quhat he said then of the eldest myt fal out of the second.

They returning the sam excusis and intimating that his majesties forbearis had maryed ever the eldest daughteris of kingis, Ramelius said that ther wes no difference among the sisteris, bothe daughteris to the king and queen, educated alyke, not unlike in mannis [*sic*] and conditionis, no difference of partage,[2] and that it wes a custom among themselves to goe by the eldest at tyms and mary the yonger *nec ulla primogenituraе prerogativa.* And howbeit Madam Elizabeth wer the mair beautiful, *Anna non invenusta ut quantum aetate vincatur* [?] *tantum statura et proceritate corporis superavit primogenitam*, quhairof he wischit them to think in tym, and he suld labour to staye other suteris.

[1] Princess Elizabeth was given in marriage to Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick.

[2] partage=inheritance.

They saying that they had no commission but for the eldest the conference brak up, and to dinner thai went, after quhich thai wrote to the king of Denmark and by letter took ther leave.

Then returning to the sam purpose Ramelius wischit them to move the king to send ambassadoris with power to treat of Orkney, to continue ther sute of the first, quhairin he promisit to doe his best, and if that faylit to sute the second, extolling the king of Denmarkis freindschip, quhat it myt avall him towardis England, and quhat it suld work for the setleing of religion and a sure peace in the north partis of Europe. And as for Orkney, suld it be found to apperten to Denmark, wayis myt be found to settle that busines to the honour of both kingis.

Then setting to sea after som stayis by tempest, thai landit at New Heaven [1] the 8 of August, being returnit in Danishe schippis with quhom thai wrote to Ramelius.

II

The kingis instructionis written with his own hand the 17 of April *anno* 1594.[2]

To schew quhat strange form of congratulation wes made in England for my sonns birthe.[3]

[1] This appears to be the name intended; but apart from clerical error, the contractions and the writing are so ambiguous that it is hazardous to be dogmatic about the reading. The ambassadors of the Low Countries landed at Newhaven in 1594. (Melville's *Memoirs*, 411.) It was reported from Hamburg on 1 August that the Scoto-Danish fleet was forced by stress of weather 'to ride about this coast,' and there was a vague surmise that the royal bride was on board. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, 1586-1588, p. 349.)

[2] These instructions were probably drawn up for Peter Young 'wha was send to Denmark, and to the Dukis of Mekelbourg and Brunswick' to invite them to send representatives to the baptism of the Prince. He departed at the beginning of May. (Melville's *Memoirs*, 410; Moysie's *Memoirs*, 117.) See below, No. LXXVI.

[3] Prince Henry was born at Stirling Castle on 19 February. Ambassadors were sent to England, Denmark, France, and the Low Countries with an invitation to the baptism. 'Bot the K. of France nor the Quen of England gaif nathing [*i.e.* to reward the bearer of the tidings]; quhilk ther dewty had caused them to do, gif ambassadouris express had bene send vnto them.' It was only 'very lait' that Elizabeth sent Sussex as her representative 'to let us think that sche wald be ay a redy frend, when France wald refuse and ly abak.' (Melville's *Memoirs*, 410-411.)

The loving termis I wes in with England at the Danische ambassadoris parting,[1] and how farre the Englische ambassador servit to damme Bothwelis violent doing.[2] This friendly form continued quhil the tym of the quenis being lighter drew neer, and then began ther braggis. Zouche wold no wayis be satisfied and ye are witnesse quhat reason wes offered.

Yet never word wes of Bothwel til the Prince wes born, at quhich tym precisely he fel to worke.[3]

Then and never quhil then he resavit Englische money, took up troops therwith and set a day for his entry in Scotland. The Englische castelis saluted him and schot at his passing and the whole Englische bordour raise and beheld him enter in our country; quhat he did after ye know.

That Zouche takis his leave in haste and meets with him upon the bordour at his bakcumming.

Remember Zouchis person, one of my motheris jurie and enemy to my title, being Burlyis dependar who favouris the house of Hartforde.

Bothwel sensyn publicly mantenit in the queenis own housis and consorted with mony.[4]

Bothwelis great schot wes and is to haif had the prince in his hand, for he promised England at the resaving of his money to delyver him unto them.

It is plainly spoken in England that Scotland cannot bear a kinge and prince both at once.

[1] 10 September 1594. (Calderwood, v. 346.)

[2] Probably a bitter reference to the trafficking of Lord Zouche, the English ambassador, with Bothwell. (See below.) These notes were written when the Raid of Leith (3 April) was still rankling in the King's mind.

[3] Bothwell had had support from England considerably before this time. His day, indeed, was nearly over. These matters are more fully dealt with in later documents in their chronological sequence.

[4] This might also read: *conforted with mon*[*e*]*y*.

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Then returning to the sam purpose Ramelius wischit them to move the king to send ambassadoris with power to treat of Orkney, to continue ther sute of the first, quhairin he promisit to doe his best, and if that faylit to sute the second, extolling the king of Denmarkis freindschip, quhat it myt avall him towardis England, and quhat it suld work for the setleing of religion and a sure peace in the north partis of Europe. And as for Orkney, suld it be found to apperten to Denmark, wayis myt be found to settle that busines to the honour of both kingis.

Then setting to sea after som stayis by tempest, thai landit at New Heaven [1] the 8 of August, being returnit in Danishe schippis with quhom thai wrote to Ramelius.

II

The kingis instructionis written with his own hand the 17 of April *anno* 1594.[2]

To schew quhat strange form of congratulation wes made in England for my sonns birthe.[3]

[1] This appears to be the name intended; but apart from clerical error, the contractions and the writing are so ambiguous that it is hazardous to be dogmatic about the reading. The ambassadors of the Low Countries landed at Newhaven in 1594. (Melville's *Memoirs*, 411.) It was reported from Hamburg on 1 August that the Scoto-Danish fleet was forced by stress of weather ' to ride about this coast,' and there was a vague surmise that the royal bride was on board. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, 1586-1588, p. 349.)

[2] These instructions were probably drawn up for Peter Young ' wha was send to Denmark, and to the Dukis of Mekelbourg and Brunswick ' to invite them to send representatives to the baptism of the Prince. He departed at the beginning of May. (Melville's *Memoirs*, 410; Moysie's *Memoirs*, 117.) See below, No. LXXVI.

[3] Prince Henry was born at Stirling Castle on 19 February. Ambassadors were sent to England, Denmark, Ffrance, and the Low Countries with an invitation to the baptism. ' Bot the K. of France nor the Quen of England gaif nathing [*i.e.* to reward the bearer of the tidings]; quhilk ther dewty had caused them to do, gif ambassadouris express had bene send vnto them.' It was only ' very lait ' that Elizabeth sent Sussex as her representative ' to let us think that sche wald be ay a redy frend, when France wald refuse and ly abak.' (Melville's *Memoirs*, 410-411.)

The loving termis I wes in with England at the Danische ambassadoris parting,[1] and how farre the Englische ambassador servit to damme Bothwelis violent doing.[2] This friendly form continued quhil the tym of the quenis being lighter drew neer, and then began ther braggis. Zouche wold no wayis be satisfied and ye are witnesse quhat reason wes offered.

Yet never word wes of Bothwel til the Prince wes born, at quhich tym precisely he fel to worke.[3]

Then and never quhil then he resavit Englische money, took up troops therwith and set a day for his entry in Scotland. The Englische castelis saluted him and schot at his passing and the whole Englische bordour raise and beheld him enter in our country; quhat he did after ye know.

That Zouche takis his leave in haste and meets with him upon the bordour at his bakcumming.

Remember Zouchis person, one of my motheris jurie and enemy to my title, being Burlyis dependar who favouris the house of Hartforde.

Bothwel sensyn publicly mantenit in the queenis own housis and consorted with mony.[4]

Bothwelis great schot wes and is to haif had the prince in his hand, for he promised England at the resaving of his money to delyver him unto them.

It is plainly spoken in England that Scotland cannot bear a kinge and prince both at once.

[1] 10 September 1594. (Calderwood, v. 346.)

[2] Probably a bitter reference to the trafficking of Lord Zouche, the English ambassador, with Bothwell. (See below.) These notes were written when the Raid of Leith (3 April) was still rankling in the King's mind.

[3] Bothwell had had support from England considerably before this time. His day, indeed, was nearly over. These matters are more fully dealt with in later documents in their chronological sequence.

[4] This might also read: *conforted with mon[e]y*.

Ye can delate the effect of Bothwelis proclamationis, and quhat malice England bare him ever quhil now.

If England get ther intent that I wes out of and my sonne in England, quhat myt thai look for in this country, and quhat estate wold my wif be in, and how vainly wer al ther freindschip and allya bestowed.

Let the king impart this to none but two or three secretly, and advise, in cace Englandis mony or men trouble me further quhat aid he wil mak me upon my next advertisement as wel by declaring to England that he wil not be content of ther causelesse troubling me, as by supporting me if need be with mony, schippis and artillery.

Deal in the same maner with the princis of Germany my allyas. JAMES R.

III

Questionis and doubtis solvit by his Majesty after the Queenis execution.

1. If the Englisch ambassadoris be in Denmark how sal we behave our selvis to them? And namly, if thai to excuse ther late cruelty enter in accusation against the queen departed.

Answerit with the kingis own hand. Coldly towardis them, and dippe into no purpose.

2. If we sal travel to know how the king of Denmark takis this barbarouse deed and how far we may insist in it.

Doe so, and exaggerat the fact as farre as ye can, but touch the namis of no actoris.

3. If we be enquyrit how your majesty takis this accident, and quhether ye intend to keap with them or not, quhat shal we say?

Mell not with that.

4. If we may hant the ambassador of France.

Behaif your selfis therin according as ye find the state of thingis.

5. If it be requyrit of ws to sweare *in animam Majestatis vestre* anent your Majesteis intention in our direction that ther is nothing but a true and plain meaning to goe fordwart

and compleit the marriage with al possible diligence, finding the like meeting on ther part num liquido jurare poterimus [*Whether we can swear with a clear conscience.*]

Candide, certe, potestis. [*By all means.*]

6. Si nous sommes requis de donner nostre proposition par escrit comme leur coustum porte, si nous le pourrons faire pourveu quils soyent contentes de faire de mesme? [*Should we be required to make our proposals in writing, if we may do so, provided they do likewise.*]

Oui, si vous les trouves bien affectiones d'laffaire, autrement non. [*Yes, but only if you find them well-disposed.*]

7. Anent the tym of sending the noblemen to compleit the mariage, quhat sal we say?

According to ther readines.

8. If we may be special anent the quantite of the tocher, if thai requyre to know quhat is lyk to be cravit of them, and quhat sal we say myt in our opinion content your hienes?

Heare and trye al, but resolve them of nothing. Ultra cupidam.

9. Quid si Elizabetha alteri desponsata fuerit ante nostrum adventum, ut contigit Jacobo 5 anno 1516, Galli primogenitam deposcenti quae iam pacta fuerat Regi Catholico? Nam id responsum legati retulerunt.[1] [*What if Elizabeth have been married to another before our arrival, as happened in* 1516 *when James V. asked for the eldest daughter of France, who had already been betrothed to the Catholic King?*]

Absit omen, sed si contigat alteram requirite. [*Forfend the omen; but if it happen, ask for the other.*]

10. Quid si gravem aut incurabilem morbum contraxerit? [*What if she have contracted a serious or incurable disease?*]

Voluntas Dei cum omni patientia expectanda esset; ut

[1] In 1516 the Scots sent an embassy to France to propose a marriage between James V., aged four years, and Louise, the infant daughter of Francis I., but they found that by the treaty of Noyon, 13 August 1516, the King had already plighted his daughter to Charles of Spain. (Bapst, *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, 12.)

antea, absit omen. [*The will of God must be borne in patience. As above, forfend the omen.*]

11. Quid si (quod omen Deus propitius avertat) aliquid ei humanitus contigerit? Num ad secundam convolabimus? [*What if anything should happen (which God forbid)? Shall we turn to the second?*]

Idem.

12. And seing our commission bears Elizabeth expresly, how must we enter with ony other?

Gif that wer, as God forbidde, a new commission behovit to be sent for with al speed.

13. If the king of Denmark wil haif an answer anent Orkney befor he enter on ony other treatie, quhat sal we doe?

Prodigiosum.

14. If the king of Denmark grant our desyre, but delay ws to the next springe and crave promise to be kept in the mean tym of sending your ambassador to treat of Orkney.

Idem. JAMES R., *anno* 1587.

IV

In 1586, Young as the first ambassador was sent with fiduciary letters.[1]

In the following year Barnbaroch and Young were sent to deal openly and ask for Elizabeth.

Copy of the private letter, 1586.[2]

Since we find that there is between us a mutual love, handed down to us as an ancient inheritance from our

[1] In 1585 Danish ambassadors had been sent to Scotland to demand, among other things, the redemption of the Orkney Isles, but they hinted that if the King of Scots sought a Danish bride 'the clame of Orkeney suld ga rycht.' Young was thereupon sent upon a preliminary mission to 'mak report.' The charge had first been offered to Sir James Melville, but he excused himself 'parsauing sic as had his Majesteis ear and maist credit, contrary to his mariage, and still vpon ane course with England.' (*Memoirs*, 336, 346; *H.J.S.*, 211-212.) Young arrived at Elsinore on 26 July and sent a report to the King on 30 July. (*C.S.P.*, viii. no. 635.)

[2] The text following is Latin.

forefathers, and since in the letters which we sent back to you last year by your ambassadors, we suggested among other things the hope of inaugurating a closer friendship, we have now at last in fulfilment of our promises determined to send our most trusty counsellor and great elemosinar Peter Young of Setoun on a secret mission to your Majesty. He is well known for the faithfulness and integrity shown to us from our cradle, especially for the supervision of our education, and for his constant attendance upon us since that time. He knows our inmost thoughts and we in our turn have deservedly confided much in him. Why we have passed over the magnates and magistrates of our realm and thought it best to send him, your Majesty will easily understand from his mandate, nor will you wonder at it when you have learned how thankworthy he is.

Therefore for the sake of the bond between us, we beg your Majesty to admit him kindly, give him private audience, despatch him speedily after the conclusion of the business and give faith to him as to ourself in what he shall declare in our name. That we are later than we wished to be in this matter, please to interpret to the best advantage. Given at our Palace of Falkland.

We have judged fit to add this note with our own hand, again to beg your Majesty to give faith to the bearer, our intimate, as if to ourself. Would to God that we may indeed some day meet. Please your Majesty to believe that all and sundry contained in these secret mandates were dictated by us to the scribe in strict privacy and delivered to him by word of mouth.

V

Anno 94. Sir P. Young directit to invit the king of Denmark to assist by witnessis the baptism of the prince and to mean the wrong done by the queen to the Lord Thirlstane quho hed resignit the landis of Mussilburgh, that wer his undoubtit, with the teindis therof to her Majesty in lyfrent with assurance to be repossest after her

lyf the tithis acquyrit *jure privato*. Not the lesse sche hed procured a new infeftment by resignation of Pitcarn [1] younger of Forther of the abbey of Dunfermlin to his prejudice, and to advise her to consaif that good opinion of him quhich he merited being als willing and more able to serve her then any other. Something anent Colonel Stewart.[2]

[3] Secret mandate to the Bishop of Aberdeen and Peter Young for receiving a financial loan from the King of Denmark and the German princes *pro facultatum modo*, for depositing it in France with rich silversmiths so that it may increase in order to hire foreign soldiers after the death of Elizabeth. For if it happen in winter, while your ports are blocked by the cold, yet, whenever it be, help will not be longer delayed than the speed of the business permits.[3] [*Nam si hieme contingat menia erunt praeclusa frigore, ut quandocumque auxilia non diuturniora quam celeritas negotii permittit.*]

VI

Other instructions in the yeir 86 to excuse the not sending of noblemen and otheris to treat of the redemption of Orkney: the reasonis, the pest in the country quhich hinderit meetingis, the troubles insewing among the noblemen, the kingis minoritie, and therfore to desyre a delay to the nixt yeir of his perfect age. Item: to enquyre quhat he knowis of the popisch legue, to crave his advyse for

[1] Henry Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline. It was on his resignation that the King created the temporal lordship of Dunfermline in favour of the Queen. (*R.M.S.*, 7 March 1593-4, where he is styled Hen. Pitcarne *de eodem*.) The grant of the lordship of Dunfermline to Queen Anne is dated at Opslo, 24 November 1589. (*Inventories of Treaties*, iii. no. 13; in H.M. General Register House.)

[2] Colonel Stewart, a pensioner of the Danish king, had been frequently to Denmark at his own expense, and played a part in the marriage negotiations. (Melville's *Memoirs*, 353, 364; *C.S.P.*, viii. *ad indices*. See also *Denmilne Papers* in the National Library of Scotland.) It was a recommendation that he could speak German.

[3] This paragraph is in Latin.

the administration of his kingdom, and touching his marriage, quhich lest point wes alterit a [? by] Burley.[1]

The sam instructionis in Latin with a direction to bring the portraitis of the king, queen and ther childrin.

VII

Information *anno* 99 al written with the kingis hand touching his right to England, and the clame of other pretendaris.

Anno 98, instructionis in Latin to David Bishop of Abirden and Sir P. Young.[2]

1. How to bring about the public peace of Christendom against the violence of the Turkish Empire.

2. Anent our undoubted right to the realm of England.

3. The great age of Elizabeth, her childlessness and infirmities, the power of king Philip, and the devices of certain English counsellors to stir up the people of England against us by false titles, so that although we expect no difficulty from the queen, and will attempt nothing to undermine her authority, yet she ought to be persuaded to name her successor.

That if she agree to be bound, that all European princes, especially kinsmen and allies, support our right against Spain and any other. If she refuses, to take steps to provide help and support in anticipation of the crisis. To ask the princes to think seriously over this business, not only in respect to him but to all to whom principalities might pass by inheritance. To enquire about the military support, number of ships and transport.

From the king of Denmark not only is help to be asked

[1] In July 1586, Walsingham declared that 'albeit Denmark and Sweden, in respect of their religion' were a 'match fit' for James, yet Elizabeth would be moved 'to great jealousy if he shall seem to effect any such matter underhand.' (*C.S.P.*, viii. no. 655.) Melville implies that the Danish marriage was distasteful to Elizabeth.

[2] See hereafter No. CXVIII. These are rough notes in Latin. There is no consistency in the grammatical construction. Thus, James is sometimes referred to in the first person: *we expect no difficulty*; sometimes in the third person: *in respect to him*.

but also advice in carrying out the business, so that no prince should be approached unless he judged fit. And to consider whether forces of soldiery and ships should be asked, or money to hire foreign troops. And to ask the king of Denmark for letters of exhortation to the princes to have their ambassadors ready to send with his to the queen of England.

VIII

† Gist of the mandate which James Lord Ogilvy *supremi ordinis baro* and Peter Young declared to Christian IV. *anno* 96, with Mr. J. Lyndsay.[1]

To wish all prosperity to the king after his coronation, to return thanks for the invitation sent to him and his wife by the ambassador Steno Bildan and to excuse his absence at the fixed time. To ask for three galleys (*triremos*) equipped with arms and men to repress the Islesmen next summer.[2] To confer anent the enmity borne to Elizabeth in those parts, and to preserve the immunity of tributes.†

IX

Clerk Registeris[3] informationis *anno* 1594 to Mr. P. Young.

†† Latin.

[1] Lord Ogilvy and Young of Seton made the official report upon their embassy on 29 September 1596. (*P.C.*, v. 318.)

[2] James was at this time anxious to put an end to ' the proude rebellioun, defectioun and dissobedience of the inhabitantis of the Ilis,' and to compel them ' To mak payment of his Maiesteis propir rentis and dewiteis in tyme cuming,' as these formed ' a grite parte ' of his royal patrimony ' quhairupoun his princelie porte and estate suld be sustenit.' He contemplated an expedition in person against the Isles in August 1596. (*A.P.S.*, iv. 97-98.) The project was abandoned ; but measures continued to be taken for the reduction of the Isles. (See Gregory's *History of the Western Isles*, chap. vi. and the notices in *P.C.*, v. indexed under ' Highlands and Islands.')

The Scottish Islesmen gave aid to the English rebels in Ireland, and therefore bore ' enmity ' to Elizabeth. Cf. p. 214 and n.

[3] John Skene of Curriehill. For Young's embassy in 1594, see above.

The Dense ambassadoris departit in August 1593.[1]

The 24 of Julj thai being heer, Bothwel took the king in the Abbey.

A wryting extortit at Halyrudhouse the 14 of August from the king to procure his releif.

Remission offerit him conditionally so he suld seik it before the 20 of November, and depa.t furth of the realm and abyd beyond sea during our pleasure. This communicat to him at Lytquow the 13 Sept. He made answer proponing som new conditionis and treating as with his equal.

He disdaynit the remission, refusit to find cation for his departing, and continuit his treasonable practisis, quhair upon being cited and not compering he wes ordanit to be denuncit.

The denunciation at the request of the Master of Cathnes his brother uterin [2] and Mr. Robert Hepburn supersedit to the 16 of November, and after that in hope of obedience for fyften dayes more, notwithstanding quhairof he wes sufferit to enjoy his housis and possessionis. After that a convention held in Januarij the lyk offer wes renewit, yit he abusing the kingis lenitie went on and finding resset in England with a number of wickit men under wagis Englisch and Scottis displayit a banner and cam neir to the town of Edinburgh, thinking to surprize the town. Being excludit therfra he enterit Leyth, imprisonit the magistratis, and honest inhabitantis began to fortefie with trenches and closit it with portis til he wes constraynit to leave it.

Reteiring therfra he invadit sum of our cumpany, made som bloodsched, and carryit away sundry of our subjectis

[1] The Danish ambassadors had come on business connected with the Queen's conjunct fee, ' speciallie that parte thairof of Falkland.' (*P.C.*, v. 135.) Cf. No. LXXVI.

[2] James Sinclair of Murkle, brother of George, fifth Earl of Caithness. Jean Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell, was mother of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, by her first marriage, and of the Earl and Master of Caithness by her second marriage.

The *Border Papers* (i. no. 888) indicate that Bothwell and the Master were in communication in September 1593, but contain no reference to this incident.

prisoneris, retaynit his rebelliouse cumpany upon the bordouris, covering his treasonable attemptat by a famous libel affixit on the crosse of Edinburgh the end of April wnder a maske of quarrel against the enemyis of true religioun.

He ewir sen the Spanische invasion hes continuit his treasonis, for, that interpryse failing, som corruptit noblemen took armis at the Brig of Die in the northe, none being mor busy at the tym and in the sam cause then he about Edinburgh, and none of them better furnischit with Spanisch gold then he that wil seem now an enemy to Spain.

He coyned ther money in Liddisdail.

None ever committet heirschippis in England more frequently then he and those quhom he made the conductoris of his garrisonis to work reformation in religioun and justice, dyverse of them being thieves by birth, education and practise, as Jhon Armstrong of Qhittauche and William Ellot of Harsscarth [1] of w[h]ose zeal to religioun and good neighborheid the complaintis of Prisben, Myndrom, Tyndal ar witnessis.

And for his affection to religion, it apperis by the joyning of Papistis with him in the invasion at Falkland the 23 of Junj 92, his councelloris colonel David Boyd [2] and captain Daniel Forestar Papistis and pensionaris to Spain.

The king cam to recover [3] the Papist lordis. How after the convention at Stirling in Sept. passing to the bordoris in October the three erlis prostrat them selfis before the king,[4] craving grace and denying the crym. They wer

[1] John Armstrong of Whithaugh and William Ellot of Harskarth, who perpetrated a raid into Tynedale in August 1593. (*Border Papers*, i. no. 879.)

[2] Probably the Colonel Boyd who was in the vanguard of Bothwell's forces at the Raid of Leith. (*Ibid.*, no. 940.) Boyd and Forestar were still with Bothwell in April 1595; and Boyd was excommunicated as one of the 'cheif persvaderis' of the band with the 'excommunicat Lordis.' (*Colville's Letters*, 155, 157.)

[3] *i.e.* to reconcile. The Convention at Stirling in September 1593 passed a series of acts for the maintenance of law and order on the Borders. (*P.C.*, v. 94.)

[4] This refers to the submission of Huntly, Errol, and Angus to the King at Fala. (See *P.C.*, v. 103 and n., and authorities there cited. The whole

inrolit to ther tryale at St. Jhonston first, then at Lytquhow, quhair the mater being remittit to a few of every estate, thai convening at Edinburgh in November, the abolition wes decernit upon choyse to conform in religion or then to leave the country thai brooking ther livingis.

They accepting nether of the conditionis in Januarii a convention met and dischargit the abolition, ordaning them to be persewit, and that thai suld not be heard til thai enterit in warde.

In the moneth of December preceding Maxwel slain. Not long after the Lord Zouche cam ambassador from England solliciting the king to proceid in justice and force against them, quhich wes agreed, the queen gifing support for the chargis.[1]

In the middes of thir difficulties the prince born. Sir P. Young commandit to report her health and the good estate of her affairis, the care he hes taken for reparing the giftis of Dunfermlin, satisfying Fortheris title, and paying young Logyis [2] tocher with Margaret Winchestern now his wyf, satisfye the ministeris of Dunfermlin anent ther stipendis, and to sute imbassadoris from Denmark to the baptism.

7 pp. Vol. A, 422. These are original notes, extending from 1586 to 1599, arranged without sequence, and drawn up in a cramped hand, careless and scarcely legible.

of this incident is dealt with there. See, also, documents hereafter given in chronological sequence.)

[1] 'Lord Zouch had come expressly to intimate Queen Elizabeth's grief, surprise, and indignation at the leniency shown to the popish Lords in the late Act of Oblivion.' It was believed that these remonstrances 'had much to do with this renewed indictment of the Catholic Lords.' (*P.C.*, v. 115 n., 116 n.)

[2] John Wemyss of Logie. In August 1592 he was to stand trial for complicity with Bothwell. But by a stratagem, 'the night before, one of the queen's dames, Maistresse Margaret, a Dutch-woman [*i.e.* a Dane] . . . convoyed him in the meane tyme out at a window, in a paire of scheats. . . . Logie maried the gentlewoman after, when he was receaved into the king's favour againe.' (Calderwood, v. 173-174.) On 25 December 1594, the King granted a charter to John Weymis and 'Margarete Weiksterne ejus sponse (servitrici Anne regine).' See also *P.C.*, v. 11 n., and authorities there cited.

VIII

Henry of Navarre to James VI.

3 August [1587].

He is happy to have heard James's news in detail and to have proof of his friendship, both from Wemyss and by the King's letter; and is glad that he was pleased to welcome the Sieur du Bartas, whose service to the King of Scots will be reckoned as service to Navarre himself. Wemyss has returned very timely with his king's permission; and any other honourable men, who should wish to follow his example, would be equally welcome. They would have exercise in arms in a good cause and in the just defence which Navarre is sustaining on behalf of all Christendom. He trusts to retain the friendship of James, for the sake of their own and the general welfare.

A MONSIEUR MON FRERE, LE ROY DESCOSSE.

Monsieur mon frere, jay receu beaucoup de contentement davoir entendu si particulierment de vos nouvelles et tant de bons tesmoingnage[s] de vostre amitie envers moy tant par le Sieur de Wemis, que par lhonneste et gratieuse lettre que vous maves escrite. Ce ma este aussi un grand plesir que vous aves eu agreable larrivee du Sieur du Bartas[1] auquel jay commande de vous rendre (pendant quil y sera) tout le service quil pourra, que je reputeray comme fait a moy mesmes.[2] Si javois quelque autre chose en ma puissance qui vous fust agreable vous en pourries disposer

[1] Henry had promised in April to send du Bartas at the King's request. He visited Elizabeth in passing, at the beginning of May. (Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 40; Calderwood, iv. 638; Teulet, ii. 923.) Guillaume de Saluste, Seigneur du Bartas (1544-1590), was gentleman in ordinary to the King of Navarre, soldier, diplomatist, courtier and poet. Chambers writes that 'for any eminent literary man of either England or France to travel north of the Tweed, was as yet a rarity and a marvel. The king, however, had contracted an admiration of Du Bartas, and translated some of his poetry; and now a royal invitation had brought him to Holyrood.' He had often declared that if he had du Bartas near him he would consider himself the happiest prince in the world. (Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 174; Teulet, ii. 924.)

[2] His 'service' was to make tentative, unofficial negotiations for the marriage of James with the Princess of Navarre. While the ambassadors were still in Denmark, the laird of Tungland, Sir James Melville's brother, was sent to make 'gud acquantance with the said princess . . . and brocht with him the picture of the princess, with a gud report of hir rare qualites.' (*Memoirs*, 363-364.)

comme du vostre propre. Ledit Sieur de Weimis que jay connu pour fort vertueus et votre tresfidelle serviteur mest venu trouver bien a propos avec vostre permission.[1] Il a este le tresbien venu, et s'il y avoit quelques autres personnes dhonneur qui voulussent faire le semblable ils le seroient de mesmes: et outre ce quils trouveroient asses ou estre employes par mesme moyen ils sexerceroient aux armes en une si bonne cause et juste defence comme est celle que je soustiens, qui importe a toute la Chrestiente. Je vous prie au reste, Monsieur mon frere, me continuer cette bonne volonte que je desire tout ainsi que nous sommes conjoyns en une mauvaise cause estre aussi liee dun perpetuel et indissoluble lien damitie tant pour le bien general que pour le particulier de vous et de

Vostre tresaffectionne frere a vous obeyr

HENRY.

Copy, 1 p. Vol. B, 483v.

IX

Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, to Maitland

15 October 1587.

He takes the opportunity of writing to Maitland, as the gentleman bearer is returning to Scotland. He has performed his negotiation well, but home affairs have prevented the French from giving such a response as Guise would have liked. As soon as circumstances permit, he will show all the part of a good kinsman in attending to the requests of the King of Scots. In the meantime James will do well to persevere in his efforts to unite the ranks of his nobility, and to follow the counsel of Maitland and his other faithful counsellors.

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR MATLAND CHANCELIER DESCOSSE.

Monsieur le Chancellier,[2] sen retournant ce gentilhomme pardela je lay bien voulu accompagner de ce mot pour vous

[1] Wemyss wrote to Navarre, who asked James to grant him permission. (Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 40, no. 65.) Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss was an officer of the Scots Guards in France. There are frequent references to his activities in Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, chap. xxviii.

[2] Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane was ratified in the office of Chancellor for life in the Parliament of July 1587, after the declaration of the King's

tesmoigner le bon debvoir quil a faict en ses negociations icy, desquelles sil ne remporte telle responce que moy-mesmes desirois il fault que vous l'imputiez a la necessité de noz affaires propres, mays si tost quelles nous permectront d'entendre a ce que le Roy vostre Maistre a mandé pardeca, ne doubtez que je ny apporte toutte la bonne volonté quil scauroit y souhaitter d'un treshumble et tres affectionne parent tel que je luy suis. Cependant il fera tres sagement de suivre la course quil a encommancee pour l'union et concorde de sa noblesse ce que j'approuve grandement.[1] Le bon conseil de vous et d'aultres fidelles serviteurs quil a pres de luy scaura assez supployer a ce qui sera requis pour la seureté et le bien de ses affaires, et ne doubte poinct que vous ny usiez de tout soing et vigilance, sur quoy m'asseurant je prie Dieu quil vous ayt, Monsieur le Chancellier, en sa saincte et digne garde. A Joigny ce xv^me^ Octobre, 1587.

† Votre tresaffectionne amy

HENRY DE LORRAINE.†

†† Holograph.

Original, trace of seal, 1 p. Vol. A, 217.

X

The Bishop of Glasgow's report

January 1588.

On 30th April 1587 Mr. Chisholm brought to me, in Paris, a commission from your Majesty, appointing me ambassador resident in France. I, however, have not dared to present it, because it was neither signed nor dated, but only sealed with the great seal. Chisholm also brought holo-

majority. (*A.P.S.*, iii. 489.) The Chancellor 'was now forty-two years of age, and ripe in all the experience that fitted for the part he had undertaken for the rest of his life. That was, to be constitutional Prime Minister to King James.' (*P.C.*, iv. xxiii.)

[1] At a convention in May, the King in spectacular wise 'reconciled the noblemen who were at variance.' Upon the 15th 'he gave thayme all the bancat in his palice of Halyruidhous; and efter supper cawsit tua and tua tak uthers be the hands, and he came with thayme in person from his palice, in forme of processioun in thair doublets, to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh.' There, at an open-air banquet, with 'the trumpeters blowing,

graph letters from your Majesty to the King of France, the Queen Mother and Queen Consort, a letter of state for the King, two notes of Instructions signed by your Majesty and counter-signed by the Secretary of State; and letters missive to be delivered to your kinsmen of the house of Guise.

I had my first audience of the King and the two Queens on 1st May, when I presented your Majesty's letters and condoled with them on the death of the late Queen of Scots. Chisholm, whom I took with me to all the audiences, can report how I refused the state of ambassador, although the French king urged me hard and said that he would cause the Pope to command the appointment.

On 18th May Chisholm went to Rheims to deliver the letters of your Majesty to the members of the house of Guise, who were then all assembled there; and to present the Instructions with which he was charged to them and the King. He was kept awaiting his reply for twenty-nine days, during which time the Queen Mother and several of the Privy Council were there in conference with the Guises. In their absence King Henry received me in audience, but deferred giving any response until the return of the Queen Mother.

Guise's answer to Chisholm was as follows: on 13th June he had written to me urging me to do my utmost to advance your affairs with Henry III. and the Queen Mother, and to notify Guise of my success. He, for his part, would not spare himself in your service, and if peace were restored in France he would give good token of his readiness. In the meantime you should cultivate the King of Spain, the Pope and all the princes who could and would do you a pleasure. Doubt not that they will grant your desires.

Guise, moreover, expressed regret for the delay in answering Chisholm, and for the expenses which he had incurred. He asked Chisholm to write to him before his departure, and he would give him satisfaction.

About the 20th of June the King went from Paris to Meaux, where the Queen Mother and Council had gone from Rheims. Here Guise spent some days in conference with the King, and no audiences were granted until after the return to Paris.

On 23rd July I had audience of the King and Queen Mother. King Henry said he would consult his mother and follow her advice. In the same audience the Queen Mother's reply was that she would remind her son about the matter, and hinted about the press of affairs. When I replied that I wished to send back the envoy, she answered that it was not necessary

and the musicians singing,' the King 'dranke to the nobilitie, and everie lord dranke to another.' (*K.J.S.*, 229; Calderwood, iv. 613.) Tytler's comment is that 'it was an imposing ceremony, but really an idle and hollow farce. . . . Before the year concluded, all accordingly was nearly as bad as before.' (ix. 13.) It was an effort 'to signalise his coming of age [on 19 June] as a real epoch.' (*P.C.*, iv. xxii.)

to do so; she would recall the subject to the King's mind, and do what she could to satisfy me.

I had audience for the fourth time on 12th August when I was closeted alone with the King, and delivered my Instructions. He congratulated me upon having received the Pope's brevet as ambassador, an office which I promised to fulfil to the best of my poor power in my old age, until I should be released. The King then declared his willingness to please your Majesty, and bade me lay my requests before Secretary Bruslard, and thereafter return to him for the despatch of the envoy. On the same day the Queen Mother also made me fair promises to the same effect.

I accordingly made a précis of my Instructions. This I sent next day to Secretary Bruslard to be communicated to King Henry, and Chisholm will carry a copy to you.

On 31st August I had another audience of their Majesties. The King said that he had consulted his mother about assisting your Majesty. But the Queen stated clearly that her son's necessities effectually prevented him from affording such help as his honour prompted. At the same audience the King instructed me to discuss the points of my above memoir with Bruslard; and this I instantly did.

I had another audience on 12th September on the eve of the King's departure to the camp at Geant. I again made earnest request for the despatch of Chisholm, whom I presented to his Majesty to obtain dismissal. King Henry desired him to convey his good-will to you and to assure you that for your mother's sake he would gladly assist you as far as circumstances would allow. He promised to consult his mother once more upon the subject, and to inform me of his decision next day, when he would also give me holograph letters for your Majesty.

A few days afterwards I had an audience of the Queen Mother, who was ill. She made no reference as to what she and the King had deliberated before his departure, but regretted that circumstances prevented them from sending the help that they would like to afford to your Majesty. Nevertheless, you enjoyed their affection in as great a degree as your mother had done; as you would learn when the King of France had emerged from his difficulties.

Owing to the delay in receiving the King's despatch and the impossibility of obtaining it from Secretary Pinart, I was forced to demand audience of the Queen Mother. This was granted on 10th November. I urged her to have the despatch expedited, because the King had granted it long since and Chisholm had taken leave of their Majesties. I also represented the perilous state of Scottish affairs. The Queen Mother begged me to be patient and to retain the envoy, so that if her son's expedition was prosperous, he might take back greater satisfaction to your Majesty than if he went immediately.

On 23rd December the King returned to Paris, victorious over the Reiters and his other foreign enemies. On the 27th I had audience, when on

behalf of your Majesty I congratulated the King, who assured me that he hoped soon to show you that this victory would redound to your advantage also. I then pled for the despatch of Chisholm, and complained of a new impost of a crown per ton, levied on Scottish merchants trading to France.

The King promised that Chisholm should have his despatch within two or three days, and sent me to Pinart. At Pinart's request, and in the presence of Chisholm, I set down in writing the points of the audience touching the despatch and the merchants' tolls. Pinart wished to make out that I had received Chisholm's despatch at the departure of the King, although the truth of the matter was quite otherwise. He then begged Chisholm to enquire what Bruslard had done with it. At first Bruslard pretended complete ignorance, but afterwards he began to remember, and gave Chisholm a simple letter of state which was given to Pinart in my presence.

Three days afterwards I had audience of the Queen Mother for the same purpose. I painted in lively colours your Majesty's necessities, the danger that might be caused by the long delay in despatching your envoy, and the comfort you would derive from a favourable reply. As I saw no great hope of the desired despatch, I informed the Queen Mother on my own initiative that she should have an eye to the preservation of your Majesty from your enemies, for it would be detrimental to France if you should fall into other hands in default of the friendship and continued alliance of the French crown.

Moreover, she should bear in mind that your Majesty, being twenty-one years old, is of age to marry, if circumstances should provide a worthy bride. If in this I outran my instructions, Chisholm will present my humble excuses. It was done with the good intention of advancing matters.

To the last point the Queen replied that she would wish well to your Majesty, provided you were a Catholic. I answered that you had shown yourself favourably inclined; that you had even restored their temporalities to the bishops, beginning with myself; and that you had given aid in money to a number of poor Irish exiles, facilitating their passage through Scotland to France.

The Queen Mother said nothing more, except that she would remind her son about the despatch.

On 3rd 7th and 11th January 1588, the despatch, and holograph letters from the King, the Queen Mother and the Queen Consort, were handed over to me; but they gave me no further answer, nor any information as to the contents of the letters. (Signed) J. Glasgo.

Monsieur Cheisholme mest venu trouver a Paris le dernier jour d'avril dernier passe, et m'a apporte de la part du Roy mon souverain seigneur et maistre une commission en

parchemyn non signée ny dattée mais scellee seullement du grand sceau, par ce ne l'ay ose presenter, me constituant par icelle son ambassadeur ordinaire pardeca,[1] ensemble lettres encloses dans ung pacquet escriptes de la main de sa Majeste et addressees au Roy treschrestien a la Royne sa mere et a la Royne regnante, avec une lettre d'estat addressee a sadicte Majeste treschrestienne et deux instructions signées de sadicte Majeste et soubz-signees de son secretaire d'estat.

Ledict Sieur Cheisholme m'apporta encores neuf lettres missives de la part de sa Majeste, a scavoir une a Monseigneur le Duc de Lorraine, une a Monsieur le Duc de Guyse, une a Monsieur le Duc de Mercure, une a Monsieur le Duc de Mayne, une a Monsieur le Duc Daumalle, une a Monsieur le Duc d'Elbeuf, une pour Monsieur de Maineville et une a moy addressée.

Jeuz ma premiere audience du Roy treschrestien et des deux roynes apart le premier jour de May ensuivant, en laquelle apres avoir presente voz humbles et affectionnees recommandations a leurs Majestez et presente voz lettres, je ne feis que condoulloir la mort de la Majeste de la Royne votre treschere mere de bonne memoire en la presence dudict Cheisholme que je mené avec moy et le feis assister a toutes les audiences de leurs Majestez pour les occasions que je l'ay prié rapporter a vostre Majeste fidellement et en particullier par ce que lors je refusois de recepvoir l'estat d'ambassadeur, Sa Majeste treschrestienne me faisant vive instance pour laccepter et me dict quil me le feroit commander par sa Sainctete.

Le xviij^{e} dudict mois ledict Cheisholme partit de Paris pour aller a Rheims trouver Messeigneurs de la maison de

[1] In March 1587 James wrote to the King of France that he ' thocht expedient to contenew ' Glasgow as ambassador, ' becaus he was sa worthie counsalour to his mother.' (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 323.) He, however, would not take the title until he obtained the Pope's permission. Mendoza considered that he ' does not wish to be prevented by his post of ambassador from aiding those ' who might prove themselves ' better disposed ' to the Catholic religion than James VI. (*Spanish Papers*, 1587-1603, pp. 81, 96.)

Guyse la ensemble pour lors,[1] ausquelz il baisa les mains de la part de vostre Majeste et leur presenta voz lectres ainsi comme je luy avois instruict, et feit a mondict Seigneur de Guyse communication des Instructions a luy envoyees et de celles qui furent envoyees pour le Roy treschrestien, et demeura en ce voyage attendant la responce desdicts seigneurs lespace de xxix jours, durant lequel temps la Royne mere du Roy estoit la accompaignée de plusieurs du conseil privé a une conference avec lesdicts seigneurs, de sorte que le Roy en laudience que jeuz en son absence me remit au retour deladicte dame sans me donner aultre responce. Monsieur de Guyse se deschargea des lectres addressees a mesdicts seigneurs les ducs de Lorrayne et d'Aumalle. Ledict Cheisholme aussi vous rendra compte pourquoy je ne feis le voiaige moymesme.

Et quant a la responce speciallement de monseigneur de Guyse, fut dict audict Cheisholme comme sensuyt : le xiii^{e} de Juing, monsieur Cheisholme, j'ay escript a Monsieur l'ambassadeur, comme vous verres, quil face toute poursuite envers le Roy et la Royne sa mere touchant les affaires du Roy d'Escosse pour en obtenir resolution, et comme il y proceddera quil me le face entendre. Je ne mespargneray demploy er tout ce qui mest possible, la vye et les biens, pour faire service au Roy vostre maistre. Pleust a Dieu que la paix se feisse en France, il verroit comment nous nous employerions a luy faire service. Cependant je seray tousjours d'advis quil face des amys du Roy dEspaigne, du Pappe et de tous les princes qui pourront et vouldront luy faire plaisir. Ce sera bien faict de se comporter gratieusement envers eux et les rechercher, ne doubtant poinct quilz ne facent pour luy ce quil leur scauroit demander. Et quant a luy, noublieroit riens selon les moyens que Dieu luy a donnez ; et audict Sieur Cheisholme a dict en particullier : Je suis marry qu'avez tant attendu et scay bien quavez despendu beaucoup dargent a vostre voiaige, mais

[1] This was the occasion of the oration in the English College at Rheims. Cf. No. V.

escripvez moy avant que partir de ce royaulme et je vous feray plaisir aussi en toute aultre chose quaurez affaire de moy.

Environ le xx^me de Juing le Roy partit de Paris pour aller a Meaulx la ou estoit la Royne sa mere et son conseil retournez de Rheins, ou monsieur de Guyse vint trouver sa Majeste et furent quelques jours en conference ensemble de sorte que lon ne peult avoir audience de leurs Majestez quelles ne fussent de retour a Paris.

Et le xxiii^e jour de Juillet ensuyvant ayant eu audience du Roy et de la Royne sa mere a part le Roy me feit ceste responce : quil parleroit a sa mere, quil adviseroit avec elle, feroit par ladvis de la Royne sa mere ; et la responce de ladicte Royne en la mesme audience estoit quelle ramenteuroit le Roy son filz et quelle luy en parleroit, et dict : Mais, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, vous voyez ce quil y a affaire,—et semblables propoz.[1] Surquoy je replique que je voullois renvoyer le gentilhomme qui avoit tant demeure vers le Roy mon maistre. Elle respondit : N'a non. Il ne le fault pas faire. Jen mecteray le Roy mon filz en souvenance et feray ce qui se pourra pour vous contanter.

Jeuz audience pour la quatriesme fois le mercredy xij^e daoust le Roy seul en son cabinet, en laquelle je feis entendre a sa Majeste le contenu de voz instructions. Le Roy commenca a dire : Monsieur l'Ambassadeur avez vous eu le brevet de sa Sainctete. Oui sire, dis je. Je suis donc bien ayse. Je ne vous ay poinct veu ambassadeur jusques a

[1] According to a report which reached Walsingham in September, the Archbishop of Glasgow had declared to an Englishman in Paris in July that he ' had moved the Kinge of France for his ayde and helpe against the Kinge his master enimyes in England, and that the Frenshe Kinge had answered him that his master had broken the leage which had contenued betwixt ther relmes so longe, in that he had by his license and safcondit licensed the Lard of Wemes with his company to pass to the ayed of his enimy the Kinge of Navarr, and therfore he wold be the sloer to maike him any helpe,—but yett to feed him with hope, he maid him promise, as sone as the trubles in his ouen dominnione were pacefyed, he wold maike him helpe.' Popular opinion held that such help was ' bothe cold and farr of.' (*Border Papers*, i. no. 540.)

ceste heure ; et me feit couvrir. Mais Sire, dis je, Vous scavez que jay servy dix ans du temps du feu Roy vostre frere et daventaige en vostre temps. Et par ce suis devenu vieil et incapable de servir si bien et dextrement aux affaires du Roy mon maistre et a vostre Majeste quil seroict requis. Et neantmoings, Sire, puis quil a pleu au Roy mondict seigneur me charger de lestat et quil vous plaise lavoir pour agreable j'ay delibere de faire au moings mal que je puis au service de sa Majeste jusques a ce quil luy plaise faire election de quelque aultre pour ladicte charge. Je nespargneray chose que j'ay en la puissance pour l'advancer. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, ce dict le Roy, je luy veulx faire tout plaisir et feray pour luy tout ce qui mest possible. Par ce addressez vous au secretaire Bruslard, luy donner a entendre particullierement ce que demandez que je face pour luy quil me le face scavoir ; puis apres me reverrez pour depescher le gentilhomme.

Aultant me dict la Royne sa mere le mesme jour en bons propoz belles parolles et promesses sur le mesme effect. Sur ce je feis ung memoire extraict de mes instructions dont jenvoye une coppye par ledict Cheisholme, et le landemain le baille audict Secretaire Bruslard pour le comunicquer a sa Majeste.

J'eux apres une aultre audience de leur Majestez le dernier jour daoust, et fort bonne responce en belles parolles, me disant le Roy quil avoit confere avec la Royne sa mere et avoit considere ce qui se pouvoit resouldre lors pour vostre Majeste. Mais la Royne me dict clairement : Que la necessite la ou estoit reduict les affaires du Roy son filz ne pouvoit lors prester telle faveur et ayde a voz affaires quil vouldroict pour son honneur. Et encores a ceste audience du Roy je fuz par sa Majeste ordonne aller trouver le secretaire Bruslard, pour discourir avec luy sur les poinctz du memoire que je luy avois baille quelque temps auparavant. Ce que je feis tout sur l'instant, layant trouve en laultre chambre de ladicte dame Royne.

Une aultre audience me fut donne de sa Majeste treschrestienne le xij^e de septembre ensuivant et luy baise les mains, estant sur son partement pour aller au camp a

Geant,[1] et apres luy avoir encores derechef vivement parle touchant la depesche dudict Cheisholme, lequel je presente a sa Majeste pour prendre son conge mattendant a ceste heure la, quil seroict depesche, sa Majeste luy dict : Vous direz au Roy d'Escosse mon frere et nepveu que jauray tousjours ceste bonne affection envers luy au bien de son Royaulme et ses affaires que j'ay eu par le passe a la Royne sa mere ma bonne soeur, et ne me fauldra jamais la bonne volonte envers le filz d'une si bonne mere pour luy faire tout plaisir selon que mes affaires le permectront, ce quil congnoistra de temps a aultre et par experience. Je parleray a la Royne ma mere avant mon partement pour ce mesme effect ; et vous Monsieur l'Ambassadeur irez scavoir delle nostre derniere resolution et des demain je vous envoyray les lectres de ma main pour le Roy vostre Maistre.

Jeux audience deladicte dame estant lors malade quelques jours apres, et luy feis entendre les dernieres parolles que le Roy mavoit dictes en presence dudict Cheisholme prest pour prendre son conge, auquel elle dict sans me respondre de ce qui avoit passe entre leurs Majestez au partement du Roy : Vous dires au Roy vostre Maistre que le Roy mon filz et moy sommes bien marris que pour les grandes affaires qu'avons en main en ce Royaulme ne pouvons si bien resouldre comme nous vouldrions pour satisfaire au bien de ses affaires car tout ainsy que nous avons tousjours porte tresbonne et grande affection a la Royne sa mere ma fille nous ne laurons jamais moindre envers luy, et que la bonne volonte ne nous manquera nullement en cest endroict, ce quil cognoistra quant il plaira a Dieu permectre le Roy mons filz soict hors des affaires qui nous occuppent grandement pour cestre heure. Nous ne fauldrons de prendre quelque bonne resolution pour luy en tout ce qui nous sera possible pour son bien et preservation, ce que luy feres entendre et len assoures de nostre part.

[1] Walsingham was informed on 20 October that ' le Roy est à present a Gian, y faisant acheminer son armée.' (*H.P.*, iii. 289.) He had gone to encounter the reiters, or German auxiliaries, who in September had invaded France to co-operate with Navarre. (Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, iii. 209.)

Sur le delay et longueur de ne recepvoir la depesche du Roy et ayant continuellement travaille avec le secretaire Pinart pour le recouvrement dicelle je feuz contrainct demander audience deladicte Royne mere qui me fut donnée le x^me^ de novembre ensuivant, et apres lavoir fort pressée pour avoir ladicte depesche et remonstre le long temps auparavant quil avoit este depesche du Roy son filz et avoit prins conge de leurs majestez, luy faisant aussi entendre le peril et dangereulx estat des affaires de vostre Majeste. Elle me prya davoir patience et me feit requeste et grande instance de retenir et bien traicter le gentilhomme et quelle ne doubtoit poinct que vostre majeste et vostre conseil nestoient assez saiges et advisez pour considerer lestat present des affaires de France et que mesmes tout presentement le Roy et ses ennemys estoient quasi aux mains estant fort pres lun de laultre et que je me gardasse de laisser partir le gentilhomme pour ce quelle sasseuroit (les affaires succedant bien par deca) il retourneroict avec plus de satisfaction et contantement pour le Roy son maistre que sil estoit presentement depesche, et me prya encores de rechef de le retenir et bien traicter.

Le Roy estant retourne de son voiaige a Paris le xxiij^e^ de Decembre apres la deffaicte des Reistres[1] et aultres estrangers ennemys de Dieu et de sa majeste, jeuz audience dicelle le xxvij^e^ apres, pour me congratuler dela part de vostre Majeste de ceste heureuse victoire quil avoyt pleu a Dieu luy donner miraculeusement et sans perte des siens, asseurant sa Majeste quil ny avoit prince en chrestiente, parent ny allie de ceste couronne qui auroict plus de contantement deladicte victoire que vostre Majeste. A quoy me feit responce qu'a bon droict et occasion vostre Majeste prendroict ce contantement comme celluy a qui la bonne fortune de cestedicte couronne touchoit de si pres que le fruict deladicte victoire pourroit redonder a vostre

[1] The 'Reistres,' after an inglorious campaign, began a 'disorderly retreat' in November, pursued by the royal army. They were completely at the King's mercy, but he allowed them to retire in peace. (Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, iii. 209.)

adventaige apres le sien propre et de ses subjectz et avoit esperance de le vous faire sentir en brief. Je luy feis remonstrance pour la depesche dudict Cheisholme en consideration de la longue demeure quil avoyt faicte, luy suppliant de me permectre le faire partir avec les nouvelles qui se presentoient ; et luy feis aussi entendre l'impost que depuis nagueres a este faict sur voz subjectz traficquans par mer en ce Royaulme a raison dung eseu pour tonneau.[1] Sa Majeste me promist dans deux ou trois jours la depesche dudict Cheisholme et dureste me renvoyer a Pinart, auquel immediatement apres en sa maison je feis entendre les poinctz de madicte audience. Il ma requis de luy donner par escript ce qui touchoit ladicte depesche aussi ce qui concernoit vosdicts subjectz, et luy donne lun et laultre en presence dudict Cheisholme. Il me voulloit faire croyre que ladicte depesche mavoit este donnee au partement du Roy hormis les lectres dela main de sa majeste. Mais l'affaire a la verite est passée tout au contraire car il ny eust jour depuis le partement du Roy jusques a son retour quasi que je ne len avois sollicite pour obtenir ladicte depesche et la retiré des mains de monsieur Brusland. En aultre avois obtenu plusieurs audiences de la Royne mere pour ceste effect. Il prya donc monsieur Cheisholme aller chez monsieur Brusland pour savoir ce qui en avoit este faict. Lequel de prime face feit semblant de nen riens cognoistre mais apres se remist en souvenance et luy donna une simple lectre d'estat qui fut donnee audict sieur Pinart en ma presence.

Trois jours apres ayant audience pour mesme effect de la Royne sa mere et apres luy avoir remonstre le soing que de tout temps elle avoit eue dela feu Royne vostre

[1] The *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs* show that the Scottish merchants resented and resisted the new duties. At their Convention in Edinburgh in February 1587-8, they took measures ' for suting of redres and discharge of the quhilkis new impoistis att the handis of the King of France and Previe Counsall thairof.' They ' thochtt maist neidfull and expedientt ' to commission an envoy ' with oure Souerane Lordis letteris of recommendatioun vnto his Highnes embassadour in France, my Lord Archbischop of Glasqu.' (vol. i. p. 270.)

mere et de voz affaires que vostre Majeste sasseuroit quelle nauroit moings de soucy de vous et de ce que vous concernoit, et le plus vivement que je pouvois mis devant ses yeulx la necessite de voz affaires et le danger que le long delay vous pourroit apporter et le soullaigement pareillement que vous recepveries dune bonne depesche et responce sur ladvis et conseil que vostre Majeste demandoit de leurs Majestez ; et par ce que je ne voiois pas grande apparence d'une depesche telle que je desirois, je luy dis comme de moymesme quelle songeast tant a vostre conservation (ayant beaucoup dennemys) que dinformer le Roy son filz quelle perte il pourroict avoir si a leur deffault vous tumbiez en aultres mains au deffaulte delamytie et continuation delalliance avec ceste couronne. Et oultre que cestoit a elle de noublier lestat auquel estoit vostre majeste en laige de vingt ung an capable a vous marier si loccasion se presentoit digne de vostre majeste. Et en ce dernier poinct si je me suis advance sans commandement de vostre majeste, ledict Cheisholme vous rendra mes excuses treshumbles. Je ne le feis qu'en bonne intention pour acheminer le reste. Ladicte dame me respondit premierement audict poinct : Ouy, Monsieur l'ambassadeur, Je le vouldrois bien, moyennant que sa Majeste fut catholicque. A quoy je replicque : Madame, ce bon prince faict toutes les bonnes demonstrations quil peult, mesmes nous a restaurez noz aultres evesques et remis en nos biens et moy le premier ;[1] et dernierement a ayde en donnant bonne somme dargent a nombre de pauvres catholiques Irlandois bannys, leurs faisant toute faveur en leur passaige par son pays pour se retirer par deca ; et ne me dict autre chose, sinon quelle mecteroit le Roy son filz en souvenance pour faire la depesche quil fauldroict pour ceste fois et que leurs majestez luy en escriproyent eux mesmes.

La depesche et lectres escriptes des mains propres du Roy, de la Royne sa mere, et de la Royne regnante me furent mises entre les mains (sans me faire aultre responce

[1] *C.S.P.*, ix. no. 384, p. 476 ; *H.P.*, iii. 235 ; Teulet, iii. 572-573.

ny donne a entendre le contenu d'icelles les iij^me^, vij^mes^ et xj^mes^ de Janvier 1588.[1]

J. GLASGO.

Original, autograph signature, 4½ pp. Vol. A, 64.

XI

Du Bartas to Henry of Navarre

14 February [1587-8].

I have had to pay a heavy price for the support of M. de l'Isle, but am marvellously pleased with the way in which he has been won over on considering the good qualities of Madame. On this matter I beg to be excused if I express my opinion in passing. If it is a question of mating her with a Christian Prince, the King of Scotland seems the only choice, for he professes the same doctrine and maintains the same ecclesiastical ceremonies and discipline ; if with a Monarch, there is none save the King of Scotland, who is already in possession of one crown and in very certain hope of those of England and Ireland ; if with a Potentate, handsome, brave, eloquent, active and discreet—in short, your own image and picture—you must accept the King of Scotland. Sire, you have given your goods, your age, your life, to this cause ; now give to it your sister, for on this happy union is founded the felicity of Christendom. Act in such a way that in life you will have a Prince to emulate, and after your death to inherit, your courage and brave exploits.

The men of Toulouse are enraged ; they have destroyed the armouries of France ; they tried to kill the First President, and hold him prisoner. When M. de Mayne writes to them, he uses these words, ' Ma ville de Tholouze.'

AU ROY DE NAVARRE.

Sire, Combien que j'aye acheté cherement la veuë de Monsieur de l'Isle,[2] neantmoins je demeure merveilleusement content du contentement qu'il a eu en la consideration des belles et excellentes parties qui sont en Madame. Et sur ce propos, vostre Majeste m'excusera si je di en passant

[1] Before 14 March, Chisholm had returned from France, rewarded ' with a greate cheane ' worth 200 marks. (*Border Papers*, i. no. 600.) He was a kinsman of conspirators in the plot of the ' Spanish Blanks.'

[2] Claude de l'Isle, seigneur de Marivaux, named as one of the ' chief men ' of Navarre's supporters. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, 1586-1588, p. 517.)

que s'il est question de l'accompagner d'un Prince Chrestien il ne s'en presente a mes yeux que le Roy d'Escosse, car il ne s'accorde seulement avec nous en la doctrine ains mesme en la discipline et cerémonies ecclesiastiques. Si d'un Monarque, il ne se trouverra que le Roy d'Escosse qui est ia en possession d'une couronne et en esperance trescertaine de celles d'Angleterre et d'Irlande. Si avec un Potentat, beau, brave, eloquent, actif et accort, et bref qui soit vostre image et pourtraict, il faut accepter le Roy d'Escosse. Sire, vous avés donné vos biens, vostre aage, vostre vie a ce parti, donnés luy encor vostre soeur, car sur cet heureux accouplement est fondé l'heur de la Chrestienté. Faites donc en sorte que vivant, vous ayés un Prince qui seconde, et mourant, qui herite a vostre courage et braves exploits. Ceus de Tholouse sont enragés ; ils ont abatu les armoiries de France ; tasché de tuer le Premier President et le tiennent prisonnier. Quand Monsieur du Mayne leur escrit il use de ces mots, Ma ville de Tholouze. De St. Palais[1] ce 14 Fevrier.

Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur

DU BARTAS.

Copy, 1 p. Vol. B, 523.

XII

Du Bartas to Segur

14 February [1587-8].

I have always admired your zeal in this cause ; and of late I have particularly remarked your enthusiasm for the Scottish marriage, an enthusiasm which will assure you of the fellowship of all who are devoted to the public weal. Continue to be staunch in your good resolutions, in the belief that this marriage is made in heaven and that it is vain to oppose it. It seems to me that I see the walls of Rome tremble, and that all Papistry shudders with fear at the mention of the alliance of two such brave Princes.

[1] Du Bartas left Scotland towards the end of September 1587. (*H.P.*, iii. 282.) James Melvill writes in his *Diary* that he was ' dimissed in the hervest, to his Maiesties grait praise, sa lange as the French toung is vsed and vnderstuid in the warld.' (p. 170 : Bannatyne Club.)

A MONSIEUR DE SEGUR.[1]

Monsieur j'ay tousjours admiré vostre zele envers ce parti: jadis je l'ay consideré en gros, et depuys peu de temps par le menu, et particulierement en l'ardante affection que vous avés au mariage d'Escosse. Je m'assure que tous ceus qui sont depouilles d'affection ou qui n'ont espousé autre affection que celle du public y tiendront la main. Ce mot donque servira non pour vous exhorter a poursuivre ains pour louër vostre dessein. Continués a estre Monsieur de Segur, c'est a dire, libre et ferme és sainctes resolutions; l'estime que ce neud est fait au ciel on a beau s'y opposer. Il me semble que je voy trembler les murs de Rome et que toute la Papauté tressïe de peur oyant parler de l'alliance de deux Princes si braves. De St. Palais ce 14 de Fevrier.

Vostre serviteur,

LE BARTAS.

[*Endorsed*] Copie des lettres du Bartas au Roy de Navarre et a Segure.[2]

Copy, 1 p. Vol. B, 524.

XIII

Mouy to James VI.

5 April / 26 March [1588].

The sufficiency of M. de l'Isle makes it unnecessary for me to write a newsletter. He will testify to you how I desire to be honoured with your commandments.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Syre, La sufisance du Sieur de Lille[3] me gardera descrire nouvelles de ce, puis il vous tesmoingnera conbien je desire

[1] Jacques Segur Pardailhan, Sieur de Pardailhan, an active agent in the Huguenot cause. (See *Calendar of Foreign Papers*, 1586-1588.)

[2] These two letters of du Bartas have been copied here by the same hand and classified together as if they were one document.

[3] On 27 April 1588 it was reported from Scotland 'that Mons. de Lisle is lately arrived from the King of Navarre.' (*H.P.*, iii. 321.)

destre honoré de vos commandemans, affin que donnant treves aus escris mes effes randent vostre Majesté certene que je luy suis

tres humble et tres affectionne serviteur

MOUY.[1]

A la Rochelle ce 5 avril stille francois.[2]

Holograph, slits along margin. Vol. B, 519.

XIV

Elizabeth to Chancellor Maitland

15 August 1588.

She has heard in various ways, and particularly of late by Asheby, her envoy to James VI.,[3] how 'ready and forward' the Chancellor has been in promoting 'the common amity of the two crownes,' and how he has always used his influence to 'nourish' the King in zeal and affection 'to the cause of relligion, as also in all frendly and necessary concurrency with us for the withstandinge of the enter-

[1] Francois de Quincampois, Sieur de Mouy. He was himself about to set out on a mission to England for help and succour. (*C.F.P.*, 1586-1588, p. 586.)

[2] The 'new style,' a reform of the Julian Calendar, was adopted by France on 20 December 1582. In the course of the centuries the accumulation of error had amounted to ten days, and the Gregorian reform got rid of the discrepancy by making 5 October 1582 (Old Style) 15 October (New Style). It made the year begin on 1 January instead of 25 March. The countries which adopted the Gregorian Calendar (New Style) were therefore ten days in advance of those which retained the Julian Calendar (Old Style). England did not adopt the reform until 1752, when there was a discrepancy of eleven days.

[3] William Asheby was sent to convey the Queen's thanks to James for the capture of Lochmaben, as a proof of 'his sincerity against the Catholics.' (Tytler, ix. 19.) He arrived at Edinburgh on 15 July, and had audience on 24 July. (*C.S.P.*, ix. nos. 473, 476.) 'Exactly what Asheby's instructions were does not appear, but judging from his conduct it may be presumed that he was directed to entertain the King with words and general fair promises. Probably Walsingham whispered in his ear before he left that if occasion seemed to warrant it he had better not scruple to exceed his instructions.' He did useful service in warding off danger from Scotland during the menace of the Spanish Armada. (Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, iii. 322, 323.)

prises of strangers against both our estates.' Such 'proffitable and provident' counsel is bound to win him 'creditte and reputation' with the King and all his loyal subjects; and for her own part Queen Elizabeth 'will ever hold a thankefull memory' of his 'good affection' toward her.[1]

Original, autograph signature. Vol. C.

Printed as Letter XII in Miss Warrender's *Illustrations*, and *C.S.P.*, ix. no. 495.

XV

Henry of Navarre to James VI.

[Before September 1588.]

As the laird of Wemyss is returning to Scotland, I snatch the opportunity of sending you this letter, and of charging him to tell you my news, with assurances of my good-will and affection. I recommend Wemyss highly as an honourable gentleman and true Scots subject, who has acquitted himself faithfully all the time that he has been with me. He will show you how highly you are esteemed by all the people of good in France; the necessity for the princes of Christendom to make common cause and to understand the artifices of their adversaries; and the cruel edicts and persecution in France against the Protestants. These things affect you in common with all other Christian princes.

AU ROY DECOSSE, MONSYEUR MON FRERE.

Monsyeur mon frere, sen retournant presentement vers vous le sieur de Ouyns [2] je nay voullu fayllyr de [l'accom]pagner de la presente, et le charger de vous fere ente[ndre] de mes nouvelles, et vous asseurer de ma bonne vollonte [et] afectyon par tout ou elle pourra vous servyr. Je lay [? trouvé] . . . gentilhomme dhonneur, fort homme de

[1] This letter was probably sent by Sir Robert Sidney, whom Elizabeth despatched to thank James 'for his good affection, and to make offer of her assistance if the Spaniard should happen to land in Scotland.' (Spottiswoode, ii. 387.) After a running engagement in the Channel for eight days, the Armada was finally driven off on 8 August.

[2] Wemyss was in France in January 1587-8; in Edinburgh in the following September. (*Border Papers*, i. no. 584; *C.S.P.*, ix. no. 526.) He fought at the Battle of Coutras in October 1587. (*Scots Guards in France*, i. 107 n.) He may be 'le Sr. Duyns' who was accredited to Burghley on 15 August. (Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres Missives de Henri IV.*, ii. 388.)

byen, et vostre tres . . . servyteur et suget, quy sest comporté avec telle fy[delite ?] et synseryte tout le temps quyl a este aupres de [moy] que jay grande occasyon de me contanter de luy, ce q[ue] me fet vous en rendre ce tesmoygnage par la prese[nte] et vous pryer tresafectueusement, monsyeur mon [frere], de lavoyr pour recommandé, de sorte quyl sapercoyve [que] la pryere et recommandatyon que je vous fays de luy [n']ayt este inutylle et ayt eu quelque puyssance en . . . Il vous dyra lestat de nos aferes, lestyme que tous les [gens] de byen de la France fait de vous et de vostre vertu; et combyen il ymporte que les prynces de la crestyente [soyent] unys ensemble et quyls connoyssent les artyfyces de [leurs] adversayres, le fruyt quy peut revenyr de leur com[mun] intelygence et les edyts cruels et eccecutyons rygoureuses quon voye et les bulles, ynterdyctyons, fulmynatyons quy se font contre ceus de la relygon [1]; ausquelles vous aves ynterest commun avec tous les prynces crestyens; sur lequel a cette cause me remettant, je ne vous en diray davantage, sy ce nest pour vous pryer tresafectueusement, monsyeur mon frere, de vouloyr fere trescertayn estat de moy et de ce quy sera en mon pouvoyr pour le bien de la crestyente et pour vostre partyculyer; et croyre que je suys et desyre demeurer

Vostre treshumble et tresafectyonne frere pour vous fere servyce HENRY.

Copy, with imitated signature, 2 pp. Vol. B, 484.

The original is printed [*circa* 1588] in *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 42.

XVI

M. de l'Isle to James VI.

2 September / 23 August 1588.

Not content with having overwhelmed me with favours, must you make me feel your liberality again? But as I value your good graces above all

[1] James Melvill writes that so many Protestants were banished from France and sought refuge in England that a relief fund had to be opened for their sustentation. The Scottish Kirk raised a sum of about 10,000 marks. (*Diary*, 177: Bannatyne Club.)

things in the world, I would neither dare, nor would it be seemly, to refuse this gift. I accept it the more willingly as a good augury, because it seems that you were willing to give the reward before it was earned. But, Sire, I protest that I have not so vile a soul as to do you service for the hope of gain or recompense. I am constrained to serve you for the honour and happiness of the service. I have substance, although deprived of it for four years, but if God ever restores it to me, I shall not spare it in your service; and in the meantime I shall willingly spend my life for you. Moreover, my misfortunes have not deprived me of credit or friends, and while they remain I shall employ them likewise to the uttermost. Pray assure yourself of my true, faithful and lifelong affection, of which, please God, you will soon have more certain proof; and in the meantime accept this testimony of my good-will in place of the thanks which I should and would, but can not, render to you.

AU ROY.

Sire, Ce n'estoit donc pas assés de m'avoir comblé de vos faveurs, si vous ne me faisiés sentir encore vostre liberalité ? Mais comme sur toutes choses au monde je me souhaitte vos bonnes graces, aussy n'eussé-je ozé, et il ne m'eust pas esté seant, de refuser ce don de Vostre Majeste, ains je l'ay tant plus volontiers accepté comme en bon augure, pour ce qu'il semble que vous vouliés donner la recompense devant le merite. Mais, Sire, si je pouvois rien meriter, je ne desirerois rien meriter que vos bonnes graces, car ne pensés pas, et ma conscience m'en est a tesmoin, que je vous face jamais service en esperance de gain ou de recompense ; ne m'estimes pas d'une ame si vile ; mais seulement vous veus-je servir, Sire, pource que j'y suis obligé, et que vous merités d'estre servi de tous les gens de bien, du nombre desquels je souhaitte sur tout que Vostre Majeste me repute. Et en vous servant n'ayés pas d'opinion que je sois poussé d'autre ambition que d'estre honoré et bienheuré de vos bonnes graces, n'y mené d'autre avarice que de me les acquerir et me les conserver s'il m'est possible. Or en vous escrivant de cette facon, vous aurés s'il vous plaist pour agréable, si je vous ay ozé descouvrir de loin la cime de mes desirs. J'ay du bien, Sire, et si tantost quatre ans je n'en ay point eu : mais si Dieu me le redonne jamais, je ne l'espargneray jamais pour vostre service. Cependant, quand bien rien autre chose ne me resteroit pour y dependre, la vie me reste encores, que j'y dependray tousjours tres-volontairement, s'il en est besoin. Toutesfois mes malheurs ne m'ont sceu pour encores priver ny de credit ny d'amis, que, tant qu'ils me dureront, j'y employeray jusques au bout. D'autres se vantent d'avoir beaucoup de moyens pour vous servir ! Moy je me contenteray, quand bien tous autres moyens me defaudroient, de me vanter d'une pure et nette conscience et d'une vraye et fidelle affection que j'apporteray toute ma vie a vostre service. Mais, Sire, faittes moy cet honneur de vous en assurer et en attendre, Dieu aydant, bien tost quelque plus certaine preuve. Cependant aussy je vous supplieray de me faire cette grace que ce tesmoinage de ma bonne volonté puisse tenir lieu des treshumbles remerciments que je vous devrois et voudrois, mais je ne vous peus rendre. Or afin que cette cy vous dise A Dieu, et preuve encore une fois congé pour moy je prieray l'Eternel, Sire, qu'il vous tienne en sa sainte garde, et vous avance l'accomplissement de vos saincts et louables desirs et desseins, et suppliray aussy vostre Majeste de me tenir pour

Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur a jamais

DE L'ISLE.

De Lidington ce 2 de Septembre 1588.

[*Endorsed*] De Lisle. For Navars affairs in state and marriage with Scotland.

Holograph, seal intact, 1½ pp. Vol. B, 513.

XVII

Henry of Navarre to James VI.

$\frac{\text{10 September}}{\text{31 August}}$ [1588].

I am sorry that the difficulty of the road has hitherto prevented me from sending the Sieur du Bartas, who is at the siege of Lysle ; but as soon as possible I shall find means to withdraw him and to despatch him to you. I hear that Wemyss is desirous, with your leave, to take service with me ; and I earnestly beg you to grant him licence. I shall be much beholden to you therefor ; and, moreover, the princes of Christendom and all the people of good have a common interest in my cause.

A MONSYEUR MON FRERE LE ROY DESCOSSE.

Monsyeur mon frere je suys byen marry que la dyfyculté des chemyns a empesché jusques icy que je nay peu vous anvoyer le sieur du Bartas, lequel sest esloygné dycy avec une commyssyon de moy, et est ocupé au syege de Lysle dou je trouveray moyan de le retyrir le plustost que je pourray pour le vous depescher, estant tresayse de voyr que les myens vous soyent agreables. Et au reste, parce, Monsyeur mon frere, que jay eu nouvelles du sieur Douyms[1] est en bonne resolusyon [*sic*] de me venyr trouver avec vostre congé et permyssyon pour me venyr servyr en ceste juste guerre et nesessere defanse, je vous prye tresafectueusemant luy vouloyr en ma faveur permettre et donner le moyan de passer pardesa. Je man sentyray grandemant tenu a vous, outre ce quen nostre defanse les prynces de la cristyente et tous les gens de byen ont un notable et commun interest. Ce quesperant que vous vouldres fere je ne vous en dyray davantage, et fynyray en cest androyt la presante mays non pas lafectyon que jay de demeurer toute ma vye.

Vostre plus humble et tresafectyonné frere
a vous fere servyse HENRY.

De la Rochelle ce x^e^ de septambre.

Original, autograph signature, part of seal and blue silk tassel remain, 1 p. Vol. B, 485.

Printed, undated and unsigned, in Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 40.

XVIII

De l'Isle to [*James VI.*]

$\frac{24}{14}$ September 1588.

Words fail me to express my humble thanks for the honour and favour which your Majesty has done me. Let my silence be eloquent of my indebtedness and fidelity. I shall await here the return of the bearer.

[1] Wemyss. He was in Scotland in September 1588, and was said to be returning to Navarre in the following February and to have instructions to inform Elizabeth of James's mind concerning the marriage and league. (*C.S.P.*, ix. nos. 526, 584.)

Please to sign the copy of your letter which he carries to you written about the taffeta, and also to give him your sign about two other pieces of taffeta, which he will present to you, in order that he may transcribe them on his return here. I pray God to preserve you from your enemies and to bless your virtuous designs, so that they may soon be accomplished to your own good and that of all Christendom.

AU ROY.

Sire, Je ne peus que des icy je ne vous rende graces par escrit de l'honneur et faveur qu'il a pleu a Vostre Majeste me faire, mais je vous les rendray en ne vous les rendant, point car linfineté des obligations que vous aves de nouveau acquis sur moy vostre treshumble serviteur m'ostent le pouvoir de ce faire, ma pensée qui n'a autre object ny subject que vos graces enviant a ma langue tant d'heur que de les vous dire, aimant beaucoup mieux s'en acquitter par un silence qui vous avoura combien il m'est impossible de trouver des paroles qui soient dignes de vous coucher icy les treshumbles remerciments que je vous voudrois faire, et combien encore tous les remerciments que je vous pourrois faire se trouverroient court au regard de ce que je me sens estre redevable a Vostre Majeste. Mais, Sire, si je ne m'esvertue encore de vous monstrer mesme le peu que je peus, pensés que je ne le peus seulement que pour y trop penser. Et pour y penser encore davantage je me tairay, apres avoir humblement supplié Vostre Majeste puys que la commodite de ce porteur s'offre, le retour duquel je suis deliberé d'attendre icy [1] qu'il vous plaise de signer la coppie de vostre lettre qu'il vous porte escrite sur du taffetas et luy donner aussy vostre signe sur deux autres morceaus de taffetas qu'il vous presentera afin qu'il y puisse transcrire les deux autres a son retour icy. Vostre Majeste scait les raisons de ma si juste demande : mais je n'ay rien a souhaitter ny a vous demander tant que l'heur de vos bonnes graces, que je prie Dieu, Sire, me conserver et m'en rendre digne ; mais bien plus de vous conserver d'entre les mains de vos ennemis, qui sont aussy par mesme moyen les siens, et vous delivrant de leurs meschantes et

[1] The King went to Stirling on 14 September 'for 10 or 12 days.' (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 517.)

malicieuses entreprises, qu'il benisse tellement vos vertueux desseins que bien tost a vostre contentement et au bien de vostre estat et de toute la Chrestienneté il vous donne heureux et entier accomplissement de vos saincts desirs. Mais ce ne seroit jamais fait si je voulois mettre icy par escrit tous les souhaits et voeus que fait et fera toute sa vie pour vostre grandeur et prosperité

Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur a jamais

DE L'ISLE.

De l'Islebourg ce 24 de Septembre 1588.

Holograph, seal intact, slits along margins, 2 pp. Vol. B, 496.

XIX

De l'Isle to the Laird of Wemyss

[*c.* September 1588.]

I beg you to remind his Majesty of his promise to give me leave to depart, and not to detain me longer here, for time is precious. I have urgent business overseas, demanding my personal presence. I shall never put in the balance my particular interests with the service of the King, who will always be dearer to me than my own life. But I consider that it is also for his service that I delay no longer here. I fear, however, that there, where you are, you are entirely engrossed with dogs and hares.

A MONSIEUR,
MONSIEUR DE WEIMIS.

Monsieur, je voy que si vous n'avés souvenance de moy, et que ne faciés ressouvenir Sa Majeste de la promesse qu'elle m'a faite de me donner mon congé et ne me retenir icy plus long temps, je suis pour y tremper encore sans pouvoir, ce me semble, de rien plus servir. Je vous supplie doncq de tenir la main qu'il plaise a saditte Majeste de me depescher au plustost, car le temps me doit estre bien cher, ayant affaire de par de là qui m'importe de beaucoup et qui requiert necessairement ma presence. Elle me presse; car possible perdant la commodité presente de la faire je me mets en danger de la perdre. Toutesfois je ne mettray jamais en balance mon interest particulier avec ce que je penseray estre du service du Roy, qui me sera tousjours

trop plus cher que moymesme. Mais je pense aussy que c'est de son service que je n'arreste plus icy, qui me fait vous supplier humblement qu'il vous plaise solliciter ma depesche. Mais je croy que la ou vous estes vous n'aves rien devant les yeux ny en l'esprit que les chiens et les lievres.[1] Toutesfois je ne laisse de me ramentevoir a vous et vous baiser humblement les mains desireux de demeurer en vos bonnes graces pour

Vostre plus affectionné serviteur

DE L'ISLE.

Holograph, 1 p., seal almost intact. Vol. B, 511.

XX

[*James VI.*] *to Monsieur du Pin*

[*c.* September 1588.]

I am greatly pleased to have the testimony of de l'Isle as to your constant affection and care to satisfy my desire. You lay me under a great obligation by labouring so whole-heartedly to procure for me so much happiness; but since you have begun, I pray you to achieve the task of making me beholden to you. I could never give you a finer subject, and you could never give pleasure to a prince who has greater good-will to requite you, and who so greatly honours and loves the King, your master. He alone shares, as myself, in my vows and wishes, and please God I shall some day give him proof of it. In the meantime I thank God for sending him success and blessing. The rest of my news, in its true particulars, I remit to de l'Isle.

Monsieur du Pin,[2] j'ay receu beaucoup de contentement d'avoir particulièrement entendu du Sieur de l'Isle combien vous avés apporté et apportés encores tous les jours d'affection et de soin pour me rendre content de mon desir[3] qui ne changera jamais en moy, me permettant le mesme de vostre bonne volonté en mon endroict; laquelle, ensemble avec vostre faveur, je vous prieray de continuer

[1] Wemyss was with the King in September. They were probably hunting at Stirling or Falkland. (*C.S.P.*, ix. nos. 526, 529.)

[2] Jacques Lallier, Sieur du Pin, Secretary of State of Henry of Navarre.

[3] Probably the marriage project with Catherine de Bourbon.

tousjours a mettre en oeuvre pour me rendre vostre redevable a vie. Cette obligation là me doit bien estre chere puys que de si bon coeur vous mettés peine a me procurer tant d'heur ; mais puys que vous avés commencé, achevés je vous en prie de me rendre vostre redevable. Je ne scaivois jamais vous en donner un si bon ny si grand subject, et vous ne ferés jamais plaisir a Prince qui ait tant de volonté de vous en scavoir gré a bon escient et qui honore et aime tant le Roy mon frere vostre maistre. C'est le seul qui a part a mes voeus et souhaits comme moymesme, et pleiest a Dieu que je luy en peusse donner quelque bonne preuve. Cependant je loueray Dieu des heureux succés et benedictions qu'il luy envoye, et le prie de les luy multiplier de jour à autre. Au reste je me rapporte au Sieur de l'Isle qui vous dira par le menu et au vray de mes nouvelles. Sa suffisance donc me fera finir icy si devant je vous prie de faire entier et assuré est de

Vostre meilleur amy.

Draft, unsigned and undated, 1½ pp. of a small sheet. Vol. B, 527.

XXI

James VI. to Catherine de Bourbon.

[*c.* September 1588.]

The famous and true report of your virtues has long since reached my ears, and filled me with so much admiration that I deem those men too happy who have had the good fortune to be eyewitnesses of the same. But since heaven has hitherto denied me even one hour of such happiness, I was unwilling to lose the opportunity of waiting upon you by letter, as a proof of my great desire to visit you in person. I shall take the first occasion to explain my intentions more particularly, and in the meantime beg you to think of me as one who hopes to assure you of his steadfast love.

Madame, le fameux et veritable rapport de vos vertus ayant il y a long temps courru jusques a mes aureilles ma tellement ravie en admiration (estant chose si clere semee es princes ou princesses de nostre siecle decadant) que je les estimois trop heureux qui avoient eu la fortunee occasion den estre oculaires tesmoigns. Mais puis que

(helas) le ciel ne ma pour encores permis de jouir dun tel heur je nay voulu omettre la seure occasion de ce porteur [1] sans pour le moins vous visiter par escrit pour tesmoin trescertain du grand desir que jay de lautre, mais me remettant a la premiere occasion pour vous faire plus particulierement entendre mon intention cy dessus. Je vous prye cependant, Madame, estimer de moy comme d'un qui espere vous faire scavoir lamour qu'il vous porte, et vous demeurera

Vostre tresaffectioné a jamais.

Copy, ½ p. Vol. B, 502.

XXII

Instructions for the Sieur de l'Isle, for the King of Navarre

[*c.* September 1588.]

Assure the King of Navarre of the friendship which I have already declared to him by writing, and show him how much I wish to confirm this friendship by a closer tie.

Show him that, having found you ready to go to him, I have taken the opportunity to renew the proposal by you as one devoted in the highest degree to the service of each of us.

Enquire as to the King's attitude, assuring him that on learning his mind I shall send to treat with him on particulars.

Employ the councillors of the said King to help you to obtain a definite answer : in special use the advice of M. du Bartas.

Find out as much indirect information as possible as to what conditions I would be able to obtain.

Visit the Princess of Navarre and assure her on my part that I shall take the first occasion to send her the explanation of my letter by some special gentleman.

Hasten your reply the more quickly in order that they may hear my news immediately after.

Instructions pour le sieur de l'Isle devers le Roy de Navarre

Apres avoir asseuré le Roy de Navarre de lamitie que je luy porte selon que je luy ay escrit la dessus, vous luy

[1] de l'Isle. See following document.

monstrerez combien je desire que cela fust confirmé dun plus estroit lien.

Vous luy monstreres que, vous ayant trouve prest de laller trouver, jay prins occasion de continuer ce propos par vous comme estant une personne adonnee au superlatif degré au service dun chascun de nous deux.

Vous nous enquerres de luy dessus sa deliberation icy dessus, lasseurant que sur la cognoissance dicelle jenvoyeray traitter avec luy sur les particularites de ceste affaire.

Vous employeres les conseillers dudit roy de vous ayder a obtenir une response resolue ; en speciall vous employeres et useres de ladvis de mon du Bartas. Vous vous informeres indirectement tant que vous pourres quelles conditions je pourrois obtenir.

Vous visiteres Madame la princesse de Navarre de ma part et lasseureres qu'a la premiere occasion je luy manderay lexposition de ma lettre par quelque gentilhomme expres.

Vous hasteres dautant plus vostre reponse affin qu'ils puissent ouyr de mes nouvelles incontinent apres.

[*Endorsed*] Copie des instructions du Sieur de Lisle.

Copy, ½ p. Vol. B, 502.

This and the preceding letter are copied by the same hand, as a single document, with the endorsement: *Treatise of mariage with the King of Navars sister.*

XXIII

Maitland to Burghley

20 September 1588.

Mr. Asheby declares that your lordship still retains something of the ' straict freindship ' which formerly bound you to my late brother, ' to the great good of both the realmes.' For this I thank you, and—in order that the effects of his death may be the less disastrous—I beg to offer myself in his stead, on the ground of a ' gratefull hairt ' and sincere good will. The origin of your friendship was ' zeale to vindicat trew Religioun ' and to establish

' a perfect amitye ' and understanding between the crowns. After a good beginning, progress towards this end has been ' by incidentis and injurye of tyme unhappelye interrupted,' and I am sure that this makes you the more anxious to avert the threatening perils and to consummate ' so good and necessarye a worke.' I shall do my utmost that it be not impeded on this side. If you, who were ' the first authour heirof,' will again work as earnestly in deed as in heart, I will act the more boldly in bringing things to ' a spedye and happye end.' Time, and the peril threatened to the Protestant religion and to both our countries, will be forces in our favour. Let us seize our opportunities while they may be had. You will find my master ' zealous in religioun, a well-devoted kinsman to the Quene your sovereyne,' as anxious for the security of England as of Scotland, and sparing neither of crown nor life if he is so treated ' that he with honour and his subjectis with affectioun ' may make common cause with your Queen. I doubt not you will use your influence to see that he is treated as well as his ' kyndlye dispositioun ' deserves.

Lethington, 20th September 1588.

Copy, 1⅛ pp. Vol. A, 243.

Calendared, under date 21 September, in *C.S.P.*, ix. no. 523; and in *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, i. 550.

XXIV

De l'Isle to James VI.

$\frac{\text{8 October}}{\text{28 September}}$ 1588.

I arrived here the day before yesterday, and to-morrow I depart. I may still find Segur at the port, awaiting the wind as he has been doing for four weeks. May God grant me better speed. I have found Mouy here, rather ill of his wound. He is your faithful and affectionate servant, who desires above all the advancement of this affair, and has promised me to employ therein all his credit and his friends about the King of Navarre, and in particular to assist me with all his power. Likewise M. de Buzenval. I should advise you to cultivate them by letters. I now send you letters of theirs. As to my despatch, in the letter to the Princess you have given

me no credit, and without that essential she would have no ground to accept my assurances. Again, it seems to me that my instructions are rendered worthless when you say that you will send a special gentleman to her to explain your letter. Yet you know the express charge you have given me. Bethink you how it is to your interest to rectify this fault by sending me a new credit. Try to let me have it at La Rochelle as soon as possible; although I fear it may be too late. I shall endeavour, and I hope, myself to redress all that. Nevertheless, inform me of your wishes as soon as possible, for I shall not sleep until I have brought the matter to an end. You would do well also to write to beg assistance from Mme. de Tignonville, the Princess's lady of honour, for she has complete control over her, and will have much influence in promoting the affair. But do not forget to tell her that you will give proof of your gratitude for such a pleasure.

On my return I have found a change in the people here. Everywhere they speak of you with affection, and make vows for your greatness. You have won their hearts by your recent behaviour towards the Spaniard, which they take as a sign of your steadfastness in religion. I send you a little memoir, as a token of my affection and fidelity to your service. I shall send a despatch immediately upon my arrival at La Rochelle. The picture which I promised you from here is no longer a natural likeness, but I shall fulfil this promise from beyond seas. I shall know if you have my likeness engraved on your heart, by the proofs you give of your remembrance of me. The love that engraves your likeness on my heart causes me to implore you to have your portrait painted for me.

The King of Navarre is master of the country as far as the gates of Nantes, and has taken three or four considerable towns, such as Beauvais-sur-mer, Clisson and others, which he is fortifying. He is also making forts at the mouth of the Loire.

As to your letters, not being able to deliver them personally, I did so by an English gentleman, my good friend, Mr. Constable, who is as well affected to you as any servant you have in the world. He will perform this service better than I could possibly have done. When I was with you I informed you, and now you see for yourself, that I am no courtier, to write such a blunt letter. It is written in haste.

M. de Mouy shows himself so impassioned in your service, that I cannot refrain from adding this little testimony. He sends you the *History of the Army of Spain*.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, je n'arrivay icy que devant hier, et demain j'en pars. Je me doubte de trouver encore Monsieur de Segur attendant le vent au port comme il a desia fait ces quatre sepmaines. Dieu vueille accompagner d'un plus grand heur ma diligence. J'ay retrouvé icy Monsieur de Mouy asses

mal de sa playe. Assurés vous en, qu'il est vostre assuré et affectionné serviteur. Il desire sur tout l'advancement de cet affaire, et m'a promis d'y emploier pour vostre service tout son credit et tous ses amis aupres du Roy son maistre, et en particulier de m'assister de tout son pouvoir; Monsieur de Buzanval de mesme.[1] Je suis d'advis, s'il vous plaist, que vous continuiés a les entretenir par lettres; je vous envoie maintenant des leur. Je trouve a dire en ma *depesche* [2] que vous ne me donnes point de *creance* en la *lettre de Madame la princesse* qui estoit le principal et le plus necessaire, et sans cela je ne scaurois *lassurer* de rien: car *elle* n'aura pas suject de *me croire*; et puys encores par mes instructions il me semble qu'elle me soit ostee du tout, quand *vous dittes* que vous luy *manderes lexposition* de *vostre lettre par gentillomme expres*; et cependant vous scavés la charge expresse que *vous men aves donne*. Sire, avisés si c'est pour vostre service, comme je le pense estre, et il est vraiment, de raccommoder cette fautte en me fournissant d'une *nouvelle creance* en cet endroit, que vous tascherés s'il vous plaist de me faire tenir a la Rochelle en toute diligence. Toutesfois craignant que je ne la receusse asses tost, je ne lairray de tascher et j'ay mesme esperance de rabiller tout cela moymesme. Neantmoins, Sire, je vous supplie qu'au plustost je puisse recevoir de vos nouvelles, et estre adverti de vostre volonté, car je ne dormiray point que je ne sois tout au bout de la carriere. Vous le verrés possible par les depesches que je vous feray devant et plus encore s'il plaist a Dieu par les effects qui en reussiront. Mais il seroit aussy tresbon et tres utile si vous escriviés a *Madame de Tignonville dame dhonneur de Madame la princesse*, la priant de vous aider en *vostre recherche*, car *elle la* possede et gouverne entierement, et aura beaucoup de poix pour avancer l'affaire. Mais il ne faut pas oublier de luy mander que quelque jour vous luy reconnoistrés a bon escient un tel plaisir. A mon retour j'ay trouvé tout

[1] Paul Choart, Seigneur de Buzenval, was agent of Navarre in England. See *Calendar of Foreign Papers*, 1586-1588.

[2] The words in italics were originally in cipher. The transcription has been inserted above.

ce peuple icy changé, tant je les oy universellement parler de vous avec affection et faire des voeus sourds pour vostre grandeur. Vos derniers comportemens envers l'Espagnol, et l'assurance qu'ils ont prise de là de vostre resolution en la religion leur ont a tous ainsy gaigné le coeur. Dieu en soit loué et vous continue de plus en plus ses benedictions. Je vous envoie un petit memoire que vous recevrés comme gage de mon affection et fidelité a vostre service, vous suppliant de le bien considerer. Si tost que je seray arrivé a la Rochelle je vous feray une depesche. Le tableau que je vous avois promis d'icy n'est plus en nature, mais je vous promets de m'acquitter de cette promesse de dela la mer ; mais je verray bien si vous avés aussy au vif ce pourtraict au cœur que j'y ay le vostre, car s'il est ainsy vous m'en donnerés preuve par la convenance que vous me monstrerés avoir de moy. Pour l'amour de l'image engravée au vostre toutesfois, Sire, je ne lairray pas de supplier Vostre Majeste qu'il luy plaise de donner au peintre quelques heures de vostre loisir afin que j'en puisse recouvrir des vostres bienfaits que pour causes je voudrois desia tenir. Le Roy de Navarre est maistre de la campagne jusques aus portes de Nantes, et a pris troys ou quatre villes de consequence, comme Beauvais sur mer et Clisson et d'autres qu'il fait toutes fortifier. Il fait aussy faire des forts sur l'embouschure de Loire. Quant a vos escrits, n'y pouvant estre moymesme je m'en suis dechargé sur un gentilhomme Anglois mon fort grand et special amy Monsieur Connestable [1] [now becommed a papist] [2] que je vous peus assurer vous estre autant affectionné serviteur que vous en ayés au monde. Il en aura autant de soin que moymesme et s'en acquittera mieux a mon advis que je n'eusse pas possible peu faire. Sire, je vous ay dit, estant aupres de Vostre Majeste, que je n'estois nullement bon courtisan ; maintenant vous le voiés bien que je vous escris si grossierement et avec si peu de ceremonie, mais

[1] This is probably the Mr. Constable who was a correspondent of Richard Douglas in 1589, and a friend of Buzenval. (*H.P.*, iii. 441-442.)

[2] Written in the margin, apparently with reference to Constable.

je scay que Vostre Majeste aime trop la rondeur et la simplicité pour n'avoir pour agreable cette mienne facon de vous escrire sans y penser. Mais en partie aussy faut il excuser le peu de loisir, et la grand haste. Je ne me mets point en peine de me chercher d'autre intercesseur envers Vostre Majeste que Vostre Majeste mesme, et ne veus requerir personne de me tenir en vos bonnes graces que vos graces mesmes qui m'ont rendu, Sire, a perpetuité,

Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur

DE L'ISLE.

De Londres ce 7 d'Octobre.

1588. Monsieur de Moui se monstre en tant et tant de sortes estre passionné pour vostre service que je ne peus que je ne luy en rende encore ce petit tesmoinage. Il vous envoie l'histoire de l'armée d'Espagne.

Original, seal remains, words in cipher deciphered ; holograph, 2 pp. Vol. B, 514.

XXV

Mouy to James VI.

8 October
28 September [1588].

I beg your Majesty to excuse me that I cannot return worthy thanks for the honour you have done me. With your usual clemency please to accept this soldierly discourse as a token that I am dedicated, heart and soul, to your service, to fulfil your commands at all times. M. de l'Isle has communicated his charge to me. Your Majesty's many virtues commend you to all the people of good. With commendations of service.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Syre, Je suplie tres humblemant vostre Majesté mexcuser sy dignemant je ne luy rans graces de lhonneur quelle ma fait. Pardonnes mon insufisance, et usant de vostre clemance ordinere receves ceste soldadesque harangue [1] pour gaje certin de mon treshumble et tres fidelle service que

[1] Presumably the *Histoire de l'armée d'Espagne*, to which de l'Isle's postscript refers.

de cœur et dame je dedie et voue a vostre Majesté, et faites moy tant dhonneur destre assure que toute fois et quantes quil plaira a vostre Majesté manploier jexecutere vos commandemans en toute fidellité et affection, comme vous estant tres humble serviteur et entieremant aquis. Monsieur de Lille ma communiqué sa charje. Vous estes orne de tant de vertus que tous les jans de bien lauront pour tres agreable, quy me fet croire que vostre Majesté en recevra entier contantemant. Je voudrois estre sy heureus de pouvoir vous randre un bon service en cela comme en toute autre chose ou mhonoreres de vos commandemans. Syre, je suplie tres humblemant vostre Majeste croire que me trouverres estre veritablemant

Vostre tres humble tres fidelle et tres affectionné serviteur MOUY.

a Londres ce 7 Octobre.

Original, holograph, 1 p. Vol. B, 515.

XXVI

Buzenval to James VI.

[c. 8 October / 28 September 1588.]

I feel myself so much obliged for the favourable letter that de l'Isle has given me from your Majesty that words fail me to express my ardent devotion to your service, and my delight at being honoured by letters from so magnanimous and virtuous a king. I confess that your royal qualities had already won over all that was best in me, but now that your Majesty and my master are bound together in amity, I shall bear to you the same particular affection which I bear to him. My master will count as service done to himself what is performed for a prince whom he loves and honours so greatly as your Majesty.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, Je me sens tant oblige a la favorable lettre que mha donne le Sieur de l'Isle de la part de vostre Majeste, qu'il mha este impossible de fayre que le silanse par lequel je la debvoys humblemant adorer ne se soyt converty en ces parolles, trop basses certes pour exprimer l'ardante devotion

que j'ay a vostre service, mays asses mal ajansees pour fayre congnoistre a vostre Majeste la confusion de mon esprit transporte par la joye qu'il recoyt de se voyr honore par les lettres d'un si magnanime et vertueux Roy. Je confesse, Sire, que vos royalles qualites avoyent parcy devant converty tout ce qui est melleur dedans moy a les admirer et a me rendre du tout treshumble serviteur de Vostre Majeste. Mays mayntenant voyant que ses heroiques vertus semploient a aymer et a estre ayme dun Prince a qui jay cett' honneur de servyr, fayttes moys sil vous plaist, Sire, cette faveur de croyre que cette sympathye qui est entre vos deux ames me rend lie de la mesme particulyere affection a vostre service que je suys a celuy du Roy mon maistre, auquel je scay que je paye une partye de la servitude que je luy doy, quand je la depans a fayre service treshumble a un prince qu'il ayme et honore tant come il fayt Vostre Majeste, laquelle pour cett' occasion et infinyes aultres je suplyray treshumblemant de mhonorer de ses commandemans affyn que par lexecution diceulx je fasse paroistre ce quest a Vostre Majeste dicelle le

Treshumble et tresaffectionne serviteur
BUZANVALE.

Holograph, trace of seal, 1 p. Vol. B, 512.

XXVII

Clermont to James VI.

$\frac{13}{3}$ December 1588.

Fear that your Majesty may accuse me of negligence, or of failure in doing my duty, causes me to offer my legitimate excuses. I all but died of a great wound in my head a few days after I arrived here, and was bedridden for two months. Now that I am restored to health I am desirous to recall myself to your memory, and to tell you that in my grave ills I received contentment from the assurance of one of my friends that you persevere in your fine enterprise. Perseverance is an excellent virtue, especially for such a worthy object as that. Would that God had given me the happiness of having rendered to you both in this matter a service equal to my good-will.

[AU] ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, de crainte que jay que vostre Majeste ne m'acuse de paresse ou de navoir pas fait mon debvoir je veux mexcuser d'une excuse que je croy que vous tienderes pour legitime, quy a failly a me mettre au tombeau d'unne grande blesseure que j'ay heu a la teste apres peu de jours estre arive issy, quy ma tenu deux mois au lit. Mais aussy tant que Dieu ma remis ma premiere sante je n'ay voullu faillir a vous rafresshir la memoire de vostre treshumble serviteur, e vous dire qu'an mets graves maux j'ay receu du contentemant par un de mes amis quy ma averty que vous perseveres an vostre belle entreprinse. Cest unne belle vertu que la perseverance e principallemant pour un sy digne suict [? sujet] comme est cetuy la. Je desirerois que Dieu m'ust fait la grace destre sy heureux de vous y avoir fait a tous deux un pareil service comme jan ay la vollonte, e que j'ay denvie de vous debmeurer eternellemant

vostre treshumble e tresobeissant serviteur

CLERMONT.[1]

de Sedan ce xiij^me^ decembre 1588.

Setille nové.

Holograph, seal remains, 1 p. Vol. B, 492.

XXVIII

Henry of Navarre to James VI.

[*c.* $\frac{23}{13}$ December 1588.]

I am greatly pleased to be assured by de l'Isle of your wholehearted friendship, which I desire to perpetuate unshakable. I shall send him back to Scotland with news when he returns from his present mission to Bearn.

[1] This is probably the ' Monsieur Cleirmont ' who was in Scotland in the summer of 1588. ' Monsieur Cleirmont, landing on the west coast, pretended he was driven thither by tempests : he moved nothing to the King touching a marriage with the King of Navarre's . . . " but he haith made a solicitour here in courte for the entertening of that matter." ' (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 478.) A M. Clermont d'Amboise was sent on a mission to Elizabeth at the end of June 1588. (Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres Missives*, ii. 383.)

In the meantime I am despatching the Sieur de Cevylle with an important communication, and I am confident that you will wish to be among the first to participate in the honour of delivering the Church. In truth I am looking to you for the most speedy and certain human succour against the imminent attempts of the enemies of God. There is such an affinity between our two kingdoms and churches, that the one cannot but suffer in seeing the other attacked. Moreover, all Christendom looks for great things from you, and if the two nations were as closely united geographically as they are in friendship, religion and interests, our strength would be irresistible. I hope that we may have the joy of meeting some day.

[He adds a postscript after the murder of Guise, wherein he traces the hand of God. It is idle to speculate on the consequences, but they must not lose sight of the aim of establishing the true religion.]

A MONSIEUR MON FRERE LE ROY DESCOSSE.

Monsieur mon frere, jay resu un estreme contantemant par le Sieur de Lysle pour avoyr este par luy assure de vostre antyere amytye, laquelle je desyre perpetuer ymmuablemant. Je le vous renvoyeray aussy tost quyl sera de retour de Bearn ou je lenvoye presantemant, et par luy vous feray byen partyculyeremant antandre de mes nouvelles. Ce pendant, jay avyse de depescher le sieur de Cevylle vers vous pour lafere quyl vous dyra[1] de ma part, quy est tresymportant et massure que vous voudres partycyper des premyers a lhonneur de la delyvranse de leglyse, comme a la veryte cest le plus promt et assure secours que jatans humaynemant contre les plus proches effors des ennemys de Dieu. Aussy y a yl telle conjonctyon tant entre ces deus natyons quentre les deus eglyses quyl est malayse quelles se voyent ataquees lune ou lautre sans y compatyr ; outre ce que toute la crestyente atand beaucoup de vostre vertu et sy Dieu nous avoyt autant aproches de lyeus comme yl nous a conjoyns de volonte de relygyon et dynteresse je nespereroy ryen ympossyble a nos courages. Jespere neanmoyns que nous aurons un jour ce byen de nous voyr ; ce pendant je vous pryeray, monsieur

[1] The words ' du marige ' are inserted in the left margin before ' dyra,' but they are omitted in the copy at fo. 489. Ceville arrived in Edinburgh on 10 March, and was to have audience on 15 March (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 6, 7.)

mon frere, de fere trescerteyn estat de la tresfydele amytye de

Vostre humble et tresafectyonne frere a vous fayre servyce HENRY.

[Mort du duc de Guisse.] [1]

Depuys la presante ecryte Dieu a frape un tel coup de sa mayn en ce royaume que chacun revere la grandeur de ses jugemans et myserycordes quy sont dautant plus admyrables quand on regarde de quy yl sest servy en ceste actyon et quon se represante les choses passees et quon les raporte aus presentes. Il ne faut samuser neantmoyns aus dyscours et esperances des consequenses de ceste esecutyons; mays yl est besoyn davoyr toujours devant les yeus ce but de la delyvrance des eglyses, et de lavansement et establyssemant de la vraye relygyon. Dieu soyt loue de tout.

Original, autograph signature, slits along margins, 2 pp. Vol. B, 486. A copy of the letter also at Vol. B, 489.

XXIX

Catherine of Navarre to James VI.

[*c.* December 1588.]

I have received your letter from M. de l'Isle; it is too much care and remembrance of me from such a distance. I impute it to your friendship for my brother, who reciprocates it. I know that he will have informed you of the blessings which God has showered upon his cause.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Monsieur, jay receu la lettre quil vous a pleu m'escrire par Monsieur de Lisle; cest trop de soin et de souvenance

[1] Inserted as a marginal note in a different hand. The Duke of Guise was murdered at Blois on 23 December 1588 by order of King Henry in a desperate, if ill-judged, effort to free himself from the dominance of the Holy League. The significance of this event for Scottish affairs was clearly grasped by Chancellor Maitland, who foretold that it would lead to Spanish intrigues with Scotland. 'This will make the King of Spain seek my master, and esteem him more than before. . . . Now Scotland is his only card to play against England.' (Tytler, ix. 23.)

de moy de si loin. Je limpute a lamitie que vous portes au Roy mon frere, lequel je masseure y correspond de son costé. Je scay, Monsieur, qu'il vous aura mandé les benedictions qu'il a pleu a Dieu luy envoyer sur ses affaires, et partant ne me reste qua vous baiser bien humblement les mains et pryer Dieu vous vouloir

Monsieur, maintenir en sa tres saincte protection

Vostre bien humble et obeissante

CATHERINE DE NAVARRE.

Copy, undated and unaddressed, 1 p. Vol. B, 490v.

XXX

James VI. to the Duke of Parma

December 1588.

I take the opportunity of this bearer to announce the apprehension of William Semple. I was well informed how he was abusing your credit to conspire with certain of my nobles, inciting them to insurrection (behaviour intolerable even in an ambassador, and quite unauthorised, I am sure, by you). I committed him to ward in the house of an Edinburgh burgess until the truth about his conduct should be ascertained by deposition. As if convicted by his own conscience, he has made a sudden escape by a window and has fled the realm. The bearer has credit to demonstrate the guilt of the fugitive.

AU PRINCE DE PERME.

Monsieur mon cousin, ayant deliberé de vous envoyer ung gentilhomme expres pour vous participer l'occasion de lapprehension de Guillaume Semple,[1] l'oportunité de ce

[1] Captain William Semple, who was active in the Spanish interests at the time of the Armada. Calderwood states that about July 'Captan Sempill came to this countrie, with the Spanish gold to the Popish lords. The king . . . commanded [Huntly], under the paine of treasoun, to present Colonell Sempill. Huntlie obeyed, and Colonell Sempill was wairded in Robert Gourlaye's hous in Edinburgh; but soone after brake waird and escaped, and that by Huntlie's moyen and assistance.' (iv. 680-681.) Cf. references to Semple in *C.S.P.*, ix.; *H.J.S.*, 235; and *Calendar of Spanish Papers*.

porteur me servira pour vous remonstrer par la presente, que m'estant bien informé comme ledict Semple abusant du credit qu'il mapporta de vostre part, sestoit servy de ce couvert pour traffiquer avec daulcuns de ma noblesse et les persuader de prendre armes, en asseurance de veoir en brief une alteration de mon estat (menée intolerable mesmes en la personne dung ambassadeur dont je masseure qu'il navoit aulcun mandement de vostre part [1]). Je le commanday de se contenir en une maison bourgeoise de ma ville dEdinbourg, jusques a ce que par les depositions de sez associez je m'eusse esclarcy la verité de ses deportementz. Mais craignant (comme il appert) lextremité que luy presentoit sa propre conscience il se devalla secrettement par une fenestre, et soudain vuida ce royaulme, se chargeant par sa fuite de ce que jay depuis trouvé tres veritable. Ce que deliberant de vous esclarcir particulierement par ung des miens qui par le menu vous deduira ce que presentement je remects a son discours je finiray la presente par mes affectionnees recomendacions a vos bonnes graces, priant lEternel, Monsieur mon cousin, de vous maintenir en sa saincte et digne grace. De Dalkeith ce — jour de decembre 1588.[2]

Copy, unsigned, 1 small page. Vol. A, 191.

[1] This was a diplomatic expression of assumed ignorance on the part of James. Parma had written to King Philip on 13 May that he had instructed Semple that on their arrival he and his colleague, Morton (Lord Maxwell), 'would endeavour to take up arms in defence of the Catholic party. If they could seize some port whither aid could be sent to them they were to do so, and at the proper time (and not before) they were to march upon the English border, for the purpose of making a diversion. . . . It was left to them and other Catholics whether they should or should not approach the King (of Scotland) in my name.' On 21 July Parma sent a further report to Philip. 'Semple carried out very well the mission I entrusted to him, and obtained (from the King) the answer' that he was 'obliged to act' with the English and Protestant party and to turn against the Catholics. (*Spanish Papers*, 1587-1603, pp. 287, 351.)

[2] Day not filled in, but probably towards the end of the month. On the 28th Walsingham was informed that 'the Prince of Parma has written to the King concerning Colonel Sempill and his behaviour here, alleging he dealt further than he had commission. The King has written back,' asking that he be punished like a knave. (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 561.)

XXXI

Du Bartas to James VI.

$\frac{13}{3}$ February 1589.

Your Majesty must not look for a polished piece of writing. The privation of your presence has deprived me of all happiness. Since my departure from Scotland, Fortune seems to have chosen me as the butt of her shafts. What can posterity expect from such an afflicted spirit? Nevertheless, I send my *Trophées* and my *Magnificence*; you will find there nothing magnificent except your name, which it is my sole desire in life to perpetuate. De l'Isle has done good service in Bearn and La Rochelle. If you send ambassadors, Earl Bothwell and Sir William Keith would be very suitable. The presence of de l'Isle there is more than necessary.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, N'atandes point de moy pour ce coup un escrit bien limé. J'ay occasion de faire meilleur marché d'encre que de larmes. La privation de vostre presence m'a privé de tout bon heur. Il semble que despuis mon despart d'Escosse la fortune m'ayt choisi pour blanc contre le quel elle decoche les traits de son courrous. Sire, je vous laisse penser qu'est ce que vous et la posterité pouves attandre d'un esprit si affligé que le mien. Je vous envoye neantmoins mes *Trophées* et ma *Magnificence*, ou vous ne treuveres rien de magnifique et triomphant que vostre nom. Escuses les efforts de celui qui n'a autre consolation que l'honeur qu'il a destre aime de Vostre Magesté, qui ne souspire qu'apres le roy d'Escosse, et qui ne desire vivre que pour faire vivre sa memoire. Le sieur de Lisle s'est monstré tresfidele, tresdiligent et tresacort en Bearn. J'estime qu'il ne la pas este moins a La Rochele. Si vous envoyes des ambassadeurs, il me semlle que le Conte Botuel et le ser Guillaume Keit seroint tres propres. Vous ne faires mal de les accompaigner du sieur . . .[1] Je ne parle point du sieur de Lisle; sa presence y est plus que necessaire.

[1] A name has been written here and erased.

Sire, en ce fait et tout autre vous reconnoistres toujour pour treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur

LE BARTAS.

de St. Palais [1] escrit a la hast, ce xiiij fevrier 1589.

Holograph, seal remains, 1 p. Vol. B, 509.

XXXII

Du Bartas to James VI.

$\frac{25}{15}$ February 1589.

I do not know whether I ought to write to your Majesty. If I do not write, it will be imputed to scorn of your command; if I do write, there is no other subject than an Iliad of Mars. France is going from bad to worse. The King dares not, we cannot, our enemies will not, heal it. The King has more will than resolution; we have more courage than wisdom; they have more means than right. The realm is being converted little by little into a desert—Guienne, Languedoc and Dauphiné by open war, the other provinces by pest and famine. How much happier is Scotland which enjoys peace and repose under a wise king. I am going to cultivate the Muses at Dubartas, and to court no prince in the world other than my Scottish Apollo, with whom I shall often talk with the sackbut of my pen. Nerac, 25 February.

[A postscript is added in commendation of Wemyss, and the King is requested to remember the promise made to Du Bartas in his favour.]

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, Je ne sai si je doy ou ne doy vous escrire. Si je n'escri point vous atribueres cela au mespris de voz commandements, et si j'escri je ne puis avoir autre sujet qu'une Iliade de mars. Mais si vaut il mieus que la calamité du tems exuse mes letres mal agreables que si mon silence accusoit ma desobeissance. La France tombe de la fievre en mal chaud. Le Roy n'ose, nous ne pouvons, noz ennemis ne la veulent guairir. Le roy a plus de voloir que de resolution, nous plus de courage que de conseil, eus plus de moyens que de droit. Le royaume se convertit peu a peu en un desert, la Guiene, le Languedoc, et le

[1] A village in the modern department of Basses-Pyrénées.

Daufiné par guerre ouverte, et les autres provinces par peste et par famine. O trois et quatre fois bien heureuse vostre Escosse qui jouit sous un sage prince d'un paisible repos. Mais changeons soudain que mon confederé le quel je n'ay point encor perdu de veue sera resolu de sa negotiation. Je m'en vay caresser les Muses en leur sejour Dubartas avec intention de ne courtizer prince du monde que mon Apollon Escossois avec le quel je parlerai souvent par la serbatane de ma plume. Sire, adieu de Nerac [1] ce xxv fevrier.

Tant plus je hante le sieur d'Oims tant plus je le connoy affectioné a vostre service. C'est pourquoy je vous suplie vous souvenir de la promesse que vostre Magesté m'a faite en sa faveur.

Vostre

DUBARTAS.

Holograph, slits along the margins, 1 p. Vol. B, 517.

XXXIII

Du Fay to James VI.

$\frac{\text{4 March}}{\text{22 February}}$ 1589.

I much regretted lately that I was commanded by the King of Navarre to pass into England, without having the means of proceeding to your Majesty, whom, after my master, I esteem above all other princes. If ever an occasion presents itself to carry some agreeable news to your Majesty, I shall account myself the happiest man in the world. I hope to give you good proofs of the fidelity of my service, if God blesses the designs of your Majesties and renders my master and you as united as I desire. Your Majesty has good servants there in force, and they will always try to serve you faithfully and well.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, Je regrettois bien dernierement que je fus commande par le Roy mon maistre de passer en Angleterre de ce que je ne peus avoir le moyen daller jusques aux terres de

[1] Nérac, in the modern department of Lot-et-Garonne.

Vostre Majeste, ny ayant Prince au monde apres celuy que je sers de qui jadmire e honore plus la naissance, de qui je dezire plus lheureuze cognoissance.

Encores que ma mauvaise fortune m'ait oste ce bien pour ce coup, si estce, Sire, que je nay perdu pour cela lenvie de le rechercher encores sil sen presente jamais occasion; laquelle sil playsoit a Dieu de me donner telle que je peusse porter quelque agreable nouvelle a Vostre Majeste je m'estimerois le plus heureux de tous les heureux qui sont au monde. Cependans, Sire, vostre Majeste sera tressasseure de la fidelite de mon service de laquelle jespere vous rendre de bonnes preuves, si Dieu benist les desseins de vos majestes et rend mon maistre et vous aussi unis comme je desire. Croyes, Sire que Vostre Majeste a y en force bons serviteurs, qui essayeront tousjours de vous servir et fidellement et bien, quellen recevra contentement. Je m'assure qu'entre autres elle my recognoistra ci affectionne quelle aura occasion de me tenir pour

vostre tres humble et tresobeissant serviteur

DU FAY.[1]

De Chastelleau, ce 4 Mars 1589.

Holograph, slits along margins, 2 pp., written only on lower half. Vol. B, 507.

XXXIV

Segur to James VI.

$\frac{\text{4 March}}{\text{22 February}}$ 1589.

I am sorry that the journey of de l'Isle has been so long delayed, but one cannot control the elements. Moreover, in France we live in the midst of

[1] Michel de Hurault de l'Hospital, Seigneur du Fay, Secretary of Henry of Navarre. See *Calendar of Foreign Papers*.

Du Fay had previously been sent on a mission to England for support in March 1588; and thence to Germany in April. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers, ad indices*; *Lettres missives de Henri IV.*, ii. 337, 355.) The published series of the Calendars of Foreign Papers terminates in 1588; and from this time forward we are deprived of a valuable source of information for elucidating references to European affairs.

so many evils that we cannot provide, as we would like, for what would be most expedient. I assure you, however, that, whatever the fortunes of the King of Navarre, never a day passes when he does not speak of you and make it plain to all his followers that he desires your friendship more than that of any other prince. He hopes that you may both meet some day and unite to chase papistry and confusion from the world.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, Je suis bien marri que le voyage de Monsieur de l'Isle ait esté si long. Mais on ne peut forcer le vent ni les tempestes. Nous vivons aussi en France parmi tant de maux que nous ne pouvons, comme nous voulons, pourvoir a ce qui seroit le plus expedient. Cependant je vous puis asseurer que quelques traverses quon donne au Roy de Navarre, et quelques affaires qu'il aye, il n'y a jour qu'il ne parle fort honorablement de vous, et qu'il ne face cognoistre a tous ses serviteurs, qu'il desire sur tous les Princes du monde vostre amitié et que quelque jour Dieu lui donne moyen et a vous de vous pouvoir voir, pour chasser ensemble la Papauté et la confusion de tout le monde. Je m'estimeray tousjours tres honnoré, s'il vous plaist me conserver en vostre bonne grace, et me tenir pour

Vostre treshumble, tresobeissant et plus fidele serviteur SEGUR.

De Chasteleraut ce iiij^{e} Mars 1589.

Original, autograph signature, slits along the margins, 1 p. Vol. B, 491.

XXXV

Du Plessis to James VI.

$\frac{15}{5}$ March 1589.

M. de l'Isle will explain his journey to you better than I can do in writing. The negotiation of such a union is important. That is why your Majesty must not find it strange if the first comes to no conclusion. But it is much that the public utilities and the particular desires of those most interested be in it. God will find the means of accomplishing the rest.

AU ROY DESCOSSE.

Sire, Monsieur de l'Isle vous expliquera mieux son voiage que ma plume, soit pour sa capacité, soit pour son affection enver vostre Majeste qui ne cede a personne. La negotiation d'une telle union est importante. Cest pourquoy vostre Majesty ne doibt trouver estrange si le premier ny met pas fin. Mais, cest beaucoup que les utilitez publiques et les desirs particuliers des plus interesses y soient. Dieu trouvera le chemin de parfaire le reste. En ce

Sire, que Dieu m'en donnera le moien je serviray fidelement a vostre dignité, a vostre pieté, a vostre vertue, et me connoistrez par effect

Vostre tres humble et tresobeyssan serviteur a jamais

DU PLESSIS.[1]

De Chastellerault, ce 15e Mars 1589.

Holograph, slits along margins, 1 p. Vol. B, 516.

XXXVI

La Marsillière to James VI.

$\frac{19}{9}$ March 1589.

If any other than M. de l'Isle was the bearer of this letter, I, being unknown to your Majesty, would not have presumed to address you. I write to assure you that here you have servants who wish you all prosperity. Among them, if I am esteemed one of the least of the King, my master, I shall yield place to none in desiring friendship and mutual good-will between your Majesties. I shall devote myself to strengthening the bond in the strongest possible way, so that the holy and virtuous desires of your Majesty may succeed to your contentment and the glory of God, since they cannot choose a more beautiful or more accomplished subject or object, such also as your Majesty merits.

[1] Philippe du Mornay, Sieur de Plessis Marly. (See *Calendar of Foreign Papers*.) He has been called 'le grand publiciste de la cause du Béarnais . . . et son principal agent à l'étranger.' He was a staunch Protestant, and the soul and mainspring of the Huguenot party at this time. (*Nouv. Biog. Générale*.)

AU ROY DESCOSSÉ.

Sire, Si aultre que Monsieur de l'Isle estoyt porteur de la presente, je penseroys entreprendre par trop, estant inconnu a vostre Majeste ; mais s'estant offert de rougir pour moy et de rendre a vostre Majeste quelque tesmoignage de ma treshumble affection je mettray toute honte apart pour lasseurer par cest escript quell'a icy des serviteurs qui luy souhaittent toute prosperite, entre lesquelz si je suys estimé des moindres du Roy mon maistre je ne cederay toutesfois a aulcun de ceulx qui desirent lamityé et bienveillance mutuelle entre voz Majestez. Pour laquelle affermir et estreindre du plus fort lyen qui soyt, japorteray tous mes voeuz et services a ce que les sainctz et vertueux desirs de vostre Majeste puissent réussir a son contentement et a la gloire de Dieu puis qu'ilz ne peuvent choysir ung plus beau ny plus acomply subject ny object, tel aussy que vostre Majeste le merite ; dont ledict Sieur de IIsle me sera fidele et veritable tesmoing ; la supliant treshumblement, Sire, de me tenir pour

Son treshumble tresobeissant et tresaffectionné serviteur LAMARSILLIERE.[1]

Ce 19e Mars 1589.

[*Endorsed in different writings*] La Marseilliere, for mariage, Marche 1589.

Holograph, part of seal remains, 1 p. Vol. B, 526.

XXXVII

Henry of Navarre to James VI.

[*c.* March 1589.]

I have always infinitely esteemed your friendship, but the Sieur de l'Isle has assured me of it so particularly that I have great reason to thank you. I shall seek all my life to requite your good-will, which I value more than that of any other prince in Christendom. De l'Isle will relate to you the

[1] Jerome Berziau, Seigneur de la Marsillière, Secretary of Henry of Navarre. (See *Calendar of Foreign Papers*.)

favours which God has given us; he has himself seen some of them. It remains only for our fortunes to be united, so that I be relieved by you in my labours. I desire nothing in the world more than this, in order that I may have occasion to serve you. De l'Isle will tell you of the help of which I have written to you, and in which I beg you to be willing to assist me.

A MONSYEUR MON FRERE LE ROY DESCOSSE.

Monsyeur mon frere, jay toujours infynymant estyme vostre amytye, mays le Sieur de Lysle man a sy partyculyeremant assure et confyrme an mon opynyon que jay beucoup de suget de vous an remercyer, et vous suplye croyre que je rechercheray toute ma vye locasyon de recognoystre cete bone volonte, que jestyme plus an vous et an fay plus destat et de fondemant quan prynce de la chrestyante quel quyl puysse estre. Ledyt Sieur de Lysle vous contera les graces et faveurs que Dyeu nous fet pour an avoyr veu luymemes une party. Il me reste que nos fortunes soye[n]t unyes pour estre par vous soulage an mes labeurs. Je vous assure, Monsyeur mon frere, quylny a ryen que je desyre plus au monde afyn davoyr ocasyon de vous servyr. Ledyt sieur de Lysle vous dyra plus amplemant de mes noveles. Je vous suplye le croyre tout aynsy que moy memes. Il vous parlera du secours dont je vous ay ecryt,[1] anquoy je vous suplye, Monsieur mon frere, me vouloyr assyster et me tenyr a james pour

Vostre tresafectyone frere a vous obeyr

HENRY.

Original, autograph signature, seal intact and part of pink silk cord, 1 p. Vol. B, 488.

XXXVIII

Elizabeth to James VI.

16 March 1588-9.

My solicitude for your welfare drives me 'to complaine to your selfe of your selfe,' since you either do not, or will

[1] De l'Isle is the 'Frenche man packet bearer,' who came to Scotland in the spring of 1589 'fra the King of Navare, desyring to have thrie thovsand waidged men; the laird of Wemyis past in Ingland for the gold to tak thame vp with, and wes appoynted generall.' (Moysie, 73; Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, ii. 124 and n.; cf. *C.S.P.*, x. nos. 142, 146.)

not, realise your impending danger. I exhort you to seize your opportunity, and to take action while your traitors are at hand.[1] Learn from recent experience how dishonourable it is to postpone doing right until forced by necessity. Moreover, they may have become wary to 'shunne the place of danger.' You would have been better 'never to have touched then so slightly to keep them in a skorne in durance.' Your behaviour is so exasperating that if I did not love you better than you deserve I should not mind to see you ruined—you who have despised all my 'loving warningis and sisterlike counsaile.' I trust that it is not yet too late to seize the conspirators who would bring you and your realm under the yoke of Spain. Awake out of your long slumber and prove yourself sovereign master of your kingdom. Show yourself resolute and you will not lack followers.

I am astonished that you have not yet fulfilled your written promise to send away the Spaniards, 'being the spoyles of my wracke.'[2] I might command you to do so in terms of our treaty, but I hope for your own sake that your personal experience of Spanish plotting will cause you to 'ryd your realme of them with speide.' In conclusion

[1] In February treasonable correspondence had been intercepted in England of Huntly, Errol, Lord Claude Hamilton, and other malcontents with Parma and Philip II. On the 27th Huntly was committed to Edinburgh Castle, where the King visited him daily; access was free to all his friends, and he was liberated within a few days. Errol fled, and Hamilton was warded. James dealt lightly with the whole matter. He was at this time somewhat estranged from Elizabeth; he resented, and felt 'duped like a boy,' that she had not fulfilled the promises made by Asheby on the eve of the Armada. (Tytler, ix. 20.) He was therefore the less inclined to proceed against the Spanish faction at her dictates. (Cf. No. LXVI.)

[2] On 8 March Asheby wrote that he had 'dealt with the King divers times' anent the Spaniards. He 'hath commanded that order should be taken to purge the country of them, and ministers urge it daily; but it will hardly be brought to pass except her majesty be at the charges; such is the poverty of this prince and country.' (*C.S.P.*, ix. no. 600.) They were not transported until July. (*Ibid.*, x. nos. 149, 150.)

I ask 'a right interpretacon of my plaine and syncere meaning, and wishe ever to you as to my selfe.'

Copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 196.
Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. LXXXVII. (Camden Society.)

XXXIX

A note of the directioun geven by his Majestie to James Hudesone be mouth.[1]

[*c.* end of June 1589.]

That he should in his Hignes name signifie to the Quene of England his Majesties darrest sister and counsalouris that he wes not moved by those of Edinburgh to marye with Denmarke, nather was he caryed by a populaire commotioun to conclude in that mater without deliberatioun of his counsale, nather did thay enter presumptiouslye in his court, nor uttered anye suche threatningis against his counsallouris nor used suche disordered maner of proceadeur as hes bene geven out or advertesed in England.[2]

That it hes bene often promised by severall messages that a persone of good calling should be sent to Denmarke, and the Earle Marshall designed at the last parliament, a conventioun of the estates appoynted the xxiij[tie] of Apryle last for resolvinge his instructions, whiche being prorogat

[1] James Hudson was sent as envoy to Scotland in April 1589, and commissioned to work for the restoration of Gray and his reconciliation with the Chancellor. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 64.) This document should probably be dated about the end of June. On 21 June Hudson was under orders to attend the King at Hamilton to receive a message for his government, and had apparently departed before 17 July. (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 130, 153.) He carried a letter, dated 27 June, from Gray to Burghley. (*H.P.*, iii. 418.)

[2] This may be a reference to the incident of 28 May when 'the provost, bailiffs and many of the burgesses [of Edinburgh] came to the Chancellor to his chamber in the King's house, and told him with threats that if the marriage with Denmark went not forward, being crossed by England to keep the King unmarried altogether, he would die for it, and all the English faction here.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 107; cf. *Papers of Master of Gray*, 161.)

by occasioun of his Majesties expeditioun in the Northe[1] to the xij[the] of May it wes then concluded he should depart with all convenient spede and his Instructions resolved be commoun advyse.

The Borrowes of this realme greatlye affecting the mariage with Denmarke speciallie Edinburghe, having tha[ir] most necessarye trade with the Eisterlingis expecting the same to be the more suir and gainefull, and houping a dischairge of thare toll exacted for passing of the Sound at Elsinheure, suspecting some let by dismissinge of some shippes the sayd erle had barganed with for his transporting, murmured amangis thame selfes, earnestlye solicited some counselouris to interpone there credit to further the mariage, but never came to any commotioun or uprore, nather ever motioned anye suche thing to his Majesties selfe nor misbehaved thameselfes in anye sort toward anye of his counsele.

That of longe tyme he hard of the Quene his darrest sisters lyking of this mariage by the Abbot of Dunfermlinge[2] and others, that no contrarye advyse wes geven when her opinioun toward his hienes mariage was craved by the laird of Weymis his late ambassadour,[3] and that he presumed greatlye of her liking thairof by her strait amitye

[1] A reference to the insurrection of the Catholic Lords and discontented Protestants, which came to a head in the 'Raid of the Brig of Dee' in April 1589. The King marched north against Huntly, Crawford and Errol, who 'came from Aberdeene to the Bridge of Dee, accompanied with three thowsand men, and resolved to fight.' Their forces, however, melted away 'when they heard the king was in persoun in the feilds against them.' James entered Aberdeen in triumph without waging battle, and returned to Edinburgh early in May. (Calderwood, v. 55; *P.C.*, iv. 374 n.) No meeting of Parliament is recorded at this time in the printed *Acts*, but there are references to the 'convention' in *C.S.P.*, x.

[2] The Master of Gray, whose abbacy of Dunfermline had, on his fall, been granted to Huntly. Gray returned from his exile on 31 May. (Calderwood, v. 58.) He came to look after 'her Majesty's affairs in Scotland,' and had her letter of credit to the King. (*H.P.*, iii. 411-412; see also references in *C.S.P.*, x., and *Papers of Master of Gray*.)

[3] Wemyss was despatched on 20 March on a mission to England. Among other things he was 'to acquaint' Elizabeth of the Danish marriage proposals, 'and to urge her bounty in augmentation' of the expenses. He returned on 11 May with answers which were thought 'generall and somwhatt cold.' (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 12, 84, 85.)

and continewed intelligence with the late king of Denmarke and that realme, and there professing the Religion common to both.

That his Majestie hard no thing of her advyse particularlye toward the matter which wes committed to the Master of Gray who returned not till the resolutioun wes taken, the estates dismissed, and the erle Marshall fullye directed and readye to departe.

That he should signifye to the Quene and counsalouris his Majestie hes understand how Mr. Archibald Douglas caryes him selfe in England as his ambassadour and often deales in his hienes name, whairof he marvellis not a lytill, and of his presumptioun in that behalfe, being discharged of all chairge he had be his ambassadouris at his commande neir two yeares ago, since whiche tyme he had nather commissioun nor power of him to deale in any mater of state, and yf he have bene imployed to solicit any sute of merchandis it wes a privat persone not auctorized by public warrand as ambassadour but as one of thair countrey men resident and acquent in England offring him selfe often to deale in thair suites. Nather did his Majestie at anye tyme conceave favorablie lyke or esteme of him, but at requeist of the Quene yelded to him his pardone and benefite of his country and at the earnest sute of the Master of Graye graunted him accesse, and permitted him to negotiat in England till his dischairge.

That he should signifye to suche counsalouris as his Majestie named he had just cause to expostulat with the Quene and thame that he hes not bene so kyndlye delt withall as he houped and as his desert and behaviour did requyre, whiche breades more grief to him then it is convenient he should utter, and to desyre thame to deale more instantlye with the quene that some better consideration may be had of him, and that his so kyndlie carying him selfe in tyme of greatest apparent strait be more respected, which will breade more suirtye and quyet to both the states.

That be his late behaviour having lost his forreyn freyndis and suscitat to him selfe enemeyes both at home and abrode, and being so lytle respected, and so coldlye delt withall by the Quene of England, he is moved to shew the lesse rigour toward his rebellis and to yelde the more to the requeste of his weill affected subjectis to obviat to the generall miscontentment conceaved by all estates heir that his Majestie is so devoted to the Quene and realme of England, seing so small regarde recipro[ca]tlye had to him.

To deale with thame that his Majesties annuitye be augmented and yearlie payit in convenient tyme to be appointed therto.

Copy, probably incomplete, $1\frac{4}{5}$ pp. Vol. B, 319.

XL

James VI. to Henry of Navarre

[*c.* July 1589.]

I was glad to hear of the good accord between the King of France and yourself, of the successful issue of your joint undertakings since that date, and of the likelihood that this success will continue. When the bearer has informed you of my continual difficulties and embarrassments since his arrival, which was itself in a time of upheaval, I think you will accept my excuses for delaying him here so long. All other news I remit to his sufficiency and to the letters of M. de Civille. Have me commended to the Princess of Navarre, with apologies that I had not leisure to write a dainty letter, fitted for a lady. In conclusion, I assure you that, in spite of any rumours to the contrary, I desire your prosperity more than that of any other living man, and desire to be knit with you in the closest friendship.

A MONSIEUR MON FRERE LE ROY DE NAVARRE.

Ce ne ma este peu de consolation, Monsieur mon frere, que davoir entendu du bon accord entre le Roi de France et vous [1] et de l'heureux succes de tous vos affaires conjoyntement depuis, et de la certaine apparence qu'il y a que ce qui reste ne sera rien inferieur au passé. Quant a la longue demeure de ce porteur en ce pais, je croye quayant

[1] In April 1589 Henry III. was driven to make common cause with Henry of Navarre in opposition to the League, which was reorganised in open revolt under Mayenne, after the murder of the Duke of Guise.

entendu au long, comme pourries faire par la bouche dudit porteur,[1] les grands empeshements qui y sont survenues, comme son arrivee au vray milieu d'un temps si turbulent,[2] la continuelle et presque insupportable fasherie et peine a laquelle jay este continuellement subject depuis, et nen suis encores aucunement exempt, outre infini d'autres grands impediments, vous fourniront prou de matiere pour accepter en bonne part mesdits excuses si tresraisonables. Au surplus quant a tous autres affaires je men rapporte a la suffisance du porteur et aux lettres de Mr. de Civille vostre serviteur,[3] vous suppliant cependant doffrir mes treshumbles et affectionnees recommendations a Madame vostre sœur la priant de m'appardonner que je ne luy ay sceu escrire a cette fois a raison de mon defaut de loisir comme peut suffisament tesmoigner le barbouillement de la presente, et vous scaves qu'il ne faut rien presenter que lexquis aux dames. Faisant fin doncques je prieray le Creatur, Monsieur mon frere, quil vous augmente de jour a autre lheureux succes de tous vos affaires, vous suppliant de tout mon cœur de croire fermement (en despit de touts contraires rapports quon vous pourroit chanter aux oreilles[4]) que je continueray a vous souhaitter plus de prosperite et grandeur qua aucune autre homme vivant et de mesme desire destre en la plus estroite amitie et intelligence avec vous daucun homme vivant, comme je demeureray a jamais vostre

tresaffectione frere et cousin

JAQUES R.

French: copy, undated, 1 p. Vol. B, 503.

[1] Probably de l'Isle, who, on 7 July 1589, was about to return 'to France through England and meaning to see the court in passing.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 142.)

[2] A reference to the Raid of the Bridge of Dee.

[3] Civille arrived in Edinburgh on 10 March. (See No. XXVIII.) He was still in Scotland, or had returned there, in August. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 184.)

[4] At this date marriage negotiations had been reopened with Denmark through the Earl Marischal, Lord Dingwall and other envoys. They set sail on 18 June. (Calderwood, v. 59.) The Danes considered the conditions too hard, especially in the matter of the bride's dowry, and three of the commissioners were sent back to Scotland at the end of July for further instructions. (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 157, 160, 163, 164.) At this time it was reported to the English government that 'the merchants begin to fear that the match will not go forward, and blame the Chancellor'; and that the 'marriage is grown cold. They have persuaded the King to the Princess of Navarre.' (*Ibid.*, nos. 157, 165, p. 128.) The present letter seems to have been written at this juncture. Melville states that Elizabeth recommended the French rather than the Danish match to James, while at the same time she wrote to Henry of Navarre 'to hald bak the mariage of his sister for thre yeares.' (*Memoirs*, 368.)

XLI

James VI. to Anne of Denmark

[*c.* 2 October 1589.]

Only to one who knows my inmost heart could I express my fear and anxiety on account of the storms since you embarked, and especially since some ships, which set sail later, have arrived without news of you. My feelings constrain me to send a messenger in all diligence to discover your whereabouts, both to bring me back news of you, and to give you news of me. For this purpose I can think of no more suitable messenger than the bearer, the Prior of Pittenweem, who has often shown alacrity in this affair, and is devoted to the service of us both.

The King to the Queene of Scotland in Norraway.

Quel regret, mes uniques amours, ma esté la plus que fortunee contrariete des vents depuis vostre embarquement,[1] quelle terreur le grondement des orageuses tempestes et quel triste estonnement larrivee par deca daucuns navires qui partirent apres vous divers jours sans scavoir neantmoins rien dire de vos nouvelles a celuy seul seroit il possible dexprimer qui me pourroit voir a jour comme un transparant miroir. La longueur donc conceue par ce triste estonnement na jamais cesse de me daguer sans a la fin me contraindre denvoyer en toute dilligence vous cercher en quelque part que fussies, tant pour recevoir ce

[1] The marriage by proxy of James VI. and Anne of Denmark took place on 20 August, but the fleet convoying the young Queen from Denmark was driven by tempests to seek a haven in Norway. Much anxiety was felt in Scotland, where preparations were being made for her reception, and, about the beginning of October, Colonel Stewart, Prior of Pittenweem, 'wes directit to Norroway, to sie quhat wes word of the Queine.' (Calderwood, v. 59; Moysie, 79; *C.S.P.*, x. no. 236.)

contentement de scavoir de vos nouvelles qu'aussi pour vous dire quelque chose de ma part la dessus ; pour lequel effect je nay sceu choisir a mon advis un plus apte messager que le porteur de la presente le sieur de Pittenweime tant pour son alaigre diligence, de laquelle il a beaucoup de fois usé en cest affaire,[1] que pour la fidelle devotion quil port a tous nos deux services. Vous priant doncques de le croire en tout ce qu'il vous dira de ma part, je feray fin priant de tout mon cœur le Creatur (mon seul amour) de vous octroyer une sauve soudaine et heureuse arrivee en ces quartiers affin que pourries faire preuve de lentiere affection de cil qui a vous seule a voue toutes ses amours.

JACQUES R.[2]

Possibly the original draft, but more probably an imitated copy, 1 p. Vol. B, 464.

XLII

The King's declaration anent the government

22 October 1589.

JAMES.

Since he has come to man's estate it has been the earnest wish of all his faithful subjects to see him ' honnourablie mareyd ' and the succession secured. That in this matter, however, he has not allowed himself to be ' rashe passionat, or utherwayes furthir addicted then honnour and gude avise ' dictated, but ' awating on the occasioun offerit be God, and following the requeist and advice ' of his ' nobilitie and gude subjectis ' has decided to marry a princess of

[1] Stewart had recently arrived at Leith as a forerunner to announce the solemnisation of the marriage and the coming of the Queen. (Calderwood, v. 59, under date 12 September ; Moysie, 78, under 28 August.) The activities of Stewart in the earlier negotiations have already been referred to, and can be traced in contemporary records and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Much unpublished material is contained in the Denmilne MSS. in the National Library of Scotland.

[2] It is interesting that the King writes to his bride in French. Report said that she had ' taken great pains to learn French for his sake.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 141.)

Denmark. That the marriage has been celebrated by proxy, and that the Queen, escorted by the navy and some of the officials and councillors of Denmark on her journey to Scotland, has been several times driven by stress of storm back to Norway, where she wishes to wait for better weather and a securer convoy. That he, having suffered much anxiety on her account and eager for the consummation of the marriage, decided to send to Norway some of his ' counsell and officeris that voluntarlie offerrit to bestow thame selffis and ther geir ' to bring her home.[1] That he, being still uneasy, determined ' to interprise the voyage in propir persone,' hoping to go and return in twenty days, weather favouring.[2] That of his own initiative, ' uncounsallit be ony levand man,' he has made a declaration of his ' will and mynd ' for the government of the country, lest his absence should be protracted : and that he has commanded the said declaration to be written and kept by the Clerk Register.

That the Privy Council shall reside continuously in Edinburgh under the Duke of Lennox as President, who shall have Bothwell continually associated with him, and the assistance of the barons and lairds of Lothian, Fife, Stirlingshire and Strathearn. That these shall be divided ' in foure quartaris,' each quarter in turn giving attendance of fifteen days upon the Duke in Edinburgh, being notified thereto and disobedience marked by Bothwell. That all the officers of state shall give constant attendance upon the Council in Edinburgh ; and that the Treasurer or his depute, Comptroller, Master of Requests, Lord Privy Seal, Captain

[1] At first he meant to send Bothwell, but desisted ' in respect of the coistis he had bestowed upon the preparatiounis of my mariage.' When James brought up the question of an embassy in the Council he found little response, and declared ' in grite vehemencie, that giff thay could be gottin na other to gang I suld ga myself allane, gif it wer bot in ane ship.' Finally the Chancellor felt constrained ' to mak his offir of going.' (*Papers relative to Marriage*, 14.)

[2] ' The place that I resolvit this in wes Craigmillair.'' (*Ibid.*, 13.) This paper, ' The Kingis Majesteis Declaratioun upoun the Causis of His Depairtur,' is a curious document, valuable for its self-revelation of the character of James.

of Edinburgh Castle, Laird of Ormistoun, Advocate and Clerk Register, or any five of them, shall always be present at councils with Lennox and Bothwell. That the nobles shall reside four at a time in Edinburgh for fifteen days in rotation :—Angus, Athol, Fleming, Innermeath together; Mar, Morton, Seton, Yester together. That the Privy Council shall consult with them except in matters concerning the 'south partis,' which shall be entrusted to Lord Hamilton; and that where need be they shall take advice of the Session. That the Lords of Council and Session convene and do justice in the accustomed course. That John, Lord Hamilton, shall have responsibility for the three Marches and the sheriffdom of Lanark: to be assisted, at his discretion, by Glencairn, Boyd, Maxwell, Herries, Home, Laird of Cessford and others influential on the Marches. That all border matters be referred to Lord Hamilton, who shall make residence at Jedburgh or Dumfries as occasion requires. That his expenses shall be refunded, and shall be a first charge upon the 'taxatioun appointit for the furtherance of our mariage be Mr. Johnne Colvill, collectour.'[1] That in case any matter should require united deliberation, Lennox and Hamilton together, along with their councillors, shall take steps to do whatever they consider needful for the King's service and the public welfare. That the burgh of Edinburgh and all the burghs 'keip thame selffis in quietnes and gude ordour,' permitting no armed convocations, keeping adequate watch and ward, and giving execution to the commands of the Council. That the ministers pray earnestly for the success of the journey, admonish the people of their duty to God and the King, and live in harmony among themselves. That all the lieges live 'in concord, amitie and gude nychtbourheid, ilkane with uther' under the present regulations. That pardoned offenders shall fulfil their sworn promise of obedience and loyalty. That the lieges be hereby admonished not only to keep the

[1] Mr. John Colville of Strathruddie, 'collector-general of the whole taxation' of £100,000 voted for the expenses of the King's marriage. (*P.C.*, iv. 345 and *ad indices*.) The tax was voted on 4 April 1588. (*Ibid.*, 269; *A.P.S.*, iii. 523.)

peace themselves but 'treulie to concur to the dew punishment of all offenssis' which may be committed: under pain of certain punishment upon the King's return. 'And that letters be past undir our signet according heirto for publicatioun of this our will. *Sic subscribitur*

JAMES R.

Apud Leith xxij Octobris 1589.'[1]

Copy, 3½ pp. Vol. B, 314v.

Printed in *P.C.*, iv. 424-427; *Papers relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth*, 4-11 (Bannatyne Club, 1828).

[1] The Declaration was registered in Privy Council on the following day.

Nos. XLIII–XCI: INTRODUCTORY

THE documents in this section cover the period from the marriage of the King to the death of the Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlestane, in October 1595. No high principles or constancy of purpose guided the ship of state during these five years of faction, intrigue, and lawlessness; but a certain unity of interest is focused in the person of the Chancellor. In good and evil fortune he enjoyed the confidence of the King; baronial feuds, court jealousies, and government rivalries were largely inspired by him or against him; the cause of the Kirk, the Christian League, and amity with England found support in him.

At best, however, he depended solely upon the King's 'guidwill and favour' (No. LX). James himself was, as the 'domosell of base birthe' admonished him, the 'supreme magistratt wnder God' who 'shall make rakning at the day of Judgement to the Lord God for that disobedience quhilk is done in all [his] dominiouns throche the outmast part thereof for falt of justice' (No. LVIII).

When the King returned 'lyk a new Jason' to his 'langueshing pepill,' hopes were high that it was a 'happy and blissed hamecumming' to a stable and peaceful realm (No. LIII). But these dreams were soon shattered. 'Before the cycle of the year had passed, comedy was turned into tragedy with Earl Bothwell the principal figure therein.' It may be open to question how far this reckless nobleman distracted the King's serious attention 'from the worthy work of reforming his house,' but there can be no doubt that his meteoric career was an important factor in Scottish history in the years immediately succeeding the King's return.

Bothwell's importance lay less in himself than in the circumstances of the time. He was not a man born great. He proved himself 'unstable as water'; turning now to Spain and then to England; co-operating at one time with the Catholic malcontents; at another, throwing himself on the support of the Presbyterian ministers. Whatever his 'high thoughts,' his Stewart blood was illegitimate; he had command of no great resources; and not even his apologists could 'commend the godliness of his life.' (No. LIII). It was his strength, politically, that for their 'own sakes' powerful parties did not wish to see 'the overthrow of this stoup of ours.' To Elizabeth and to the Kirk he was useful for a time as a flail sent by God to scourge the King into the strait path of their desires.

When the storm first broke out over the charge of witchcraft in 1591, England was his enemy and a Presbyterian minister his apologist. It is interesting that he based his 'defence' of Bothwell upon grounds of equity and the danger threatened to the 'security of life and heritage' of the whole order of the nobility. He presents the government in an ugly light in this prosecution of Bothwell, who may well have gained a certain popular sympathy as the victim of 'the in[i]quete of tyme, and that preordinat death he is adjudged unto by others, quho fearing his pouer and revenge, wald be very sory that he lived any longar.'

Many details are obscure, but it is clear that the accusation of wizardry could not be disdained as 'simply that of an infamous villain against a noble man.' It was backed by the 'concurrence of mightie princes and the craftye courses of cruel counsellours.' Whatever were the reasons for England's enmity, there seems to be as little doubt of its intensity as of that of the Scottish Chancellor, whom Bothwell himself called 'the authour of my calamiti and pest of the name of Stewart' (No. LXVIII).

It was alleged that there was collusion between the

Scottish and English governments in the prosecution, and that their dealings were not honourable with the 'gleid witche' and the wizard Ritchie Graham 'quha hes abjured Jesus Christ the veretie it self.' Moreover, they made themselves forsworn by shifting the point of attack from accusation of sorcery to one of political conspiracy. Bothwell 'was committed to prison on a charge of witchcraft and is now forfeited for a crime for which he had remission under the "handwritt" of both King and Chancellor.' This gave some plausibility to the assertion that in breaking ward he acted 'baith for his releif' and the 'excuse' of those who had 'found themselves in a dilemma from having given ear to "that forget cryme," and, to exonerate themselves, threw the blame upon the King's will' (No. LIII).

Here we have the only direct expression at this time of James's deeply seated hatred of Bothwell; but the animosity of the King and his Chancellor was no less bitter, and was more enduring, than that of the Queen of England and her ambassador against the prosecuted Earl. In the course of events Elizabeth, who 'apparently without pity' had incited James against Bothwell, soon came to afford him refuge and assistance as a lever against the King of Scots.

When Spanish intrigues began again to become serious in Scotland, Elizabeth and James both made use of the Bothwell menace to further their own designs; and they could both complain, in the words of the Hermit of Theobalds, that 'many mens promisses are no charters' (No. LXXIII). It suited James to make much of the common peril in order to demand financial support wherewith 'to enterteney some forces as a garde to our persone, and other companyes of horsemen to be imployit within the countrey as occasion shall offer'; and likewise to demand that his good sister should discountenance Bothwell and his accomplices (No. LVII). After the discovery of the 'Spanish Blanks' he made the ultimatum that, if 'that vyle man . . . be ressett or confortit hearafter in any pairt of her cuntrey, I can no longer keepe amitie with her but by the contrair vill be enforcid to joyne in freindschipp with her greattest ennemies for my ouin safetie' (No. LXVI).

Both the sovereigns wished to have a hold upon the other, and Bothwell was useful in furnishing a handle.

Elizabeth railed at James to 'play the King' and proceed with rigour against his traitor earls. But her envoy, the 'noble man' whom she termed 'wyse, religious and honest . . . had bene fitter in [James's] opinioun to carye the message of a herauld, then any friendlye commissioun betuixt twa nichtbour princes' (No. LXXIV).

This Lord Zouche, indeed, like Bowes, the resident ambassador, was officially inciting James to action against the rebels, while at the same time he was secretly crippling his power by intriguing with Bothwell. James's narrative, as set down for the consideration of the King of Denmark, gives a disjointed account of Bothwell's exploits during the years 1593 and 1594; but this incoherence aptly reflects the confusion of the time, and the difficulties in the midst of which the Prince was born. The birth of an heir made a difference in the situation by securing the succession. According to the King's account, Bothwell's 'great shot' now was 'to haif had the Prince in his hand, for he promised England at the resaving of his money to delyver him unto them' (No. VII, Part II).

His fears, however, were baseless that this menace would continue. On 27th August 1594 he made his last complaint in these Papers, of the 'iniquitye' of the Queen's dealings with Bothwell and his agents (No. LXXXIII). After the baptism of the Prince the outlawed Earl ceased to be of use to the English government, while by making

common cause with the Catholic faction he also lost the support of the Kirk.

On 7th September Bothwell lamented that England would no longer countenance or harbour him, and that among the 'nobility, burghs and ministry' who had supported him in Scotland he could not find 'a single one' to present his supplication to the King. He had cut away the ground from under his feet by his 'proceedings with the Papist Lords.' The time had gone by when he could 'conioyne with any opposites . . . as David did with the Philistines, and as divers of' the fugitive and exiled ministers did in 1585 'with Maxwell, ane oppin knawne papist' (No. LXXXV). At an earlier time he had made a skilful appeal to their pity by comparing his present 'extremitie' with theirs when their 'ennemeis possessit the estait.' The Kirk was probably willing to believe as long as possible that 'thair is no difference betuix the two tymis in innocency forme or substance but alennerly in circumstancis of personis persewars and persewit' (No. LXVIII). But in the autumn of 1594 the issues had become clear cut; 'driftis nor schiftis' could no longer be used (No. LXXXIII). When Bothwell threw in his lot with the excommunicated Earls, it was no longer possible either 'to satisfy the Queen of England . . . in all her demands,' or to 'performe quhatsumevir possibilie thai culd for satisfactioun of the Kirk' (No. LXXXV).

The finality and completeness of his fall are a striking commentary upon the times. He was the result and symbol of a country divided against itself, and when James at last set his house in order he was swept into oblivion and want. When the King made his 'cummersume hiland jornay' in the winter of 1594 against his traitors in their fastnesses he turned the strength of faction to the support of the monarchy, and relied chiefly upon the support of the Kirk and 'wadgitt men' whose wages were a burden upon

their own countrymen and not a gratuity from England (Nos. LXXXVIII–XC). Our records do not show that Elizabeth advanced any appreciable 'soumes of money to be imployed in the leveying and intertenement of forces als well to imped and stay the insurrection likely to be made in this realme' (No. LXXXII).

Probably at this time, as in the previous year, although 'hir majeste lyketh verry weill of that course to be takin in hand . . . as ovir rewling suche seditious traterous rebellis, and in freing of bothe the princes and thair cuntreis frome danger of invasioun,' yet she 'seethe no caus of necessitie for the king to differ this so publique and profitabill service of the realme upoun expectatioun of anye peace of money out of England' (No. LXXV).

There can be no doubt, however, that in the campaign of 1594 'necessar service' was hampered 'foir leik of silver.' It was felt that 'to proceid with rigour against all the erlis and ther vyffis and complesis' was not sufficient without planting 'garnisons into thair principall housis' to hold the country 'in resonabll quyetnes'; and that 'the onlie stay wilbe want off payment to our wadgitt mene' (Nos. LXXXIX, XC).

James himself, with his absolutist ideas, was anxious to possess a force of professional soldiers to make him more independent of faction at home and more powerful to deal with foreign princes. It was not only to parliament or to England that he addressed himself for aid to realise this ambition. In the summer of 1593 he obtained permission from the United Provinces to transport 'powder and arms for five or six thousand soldiers,' while in the following year he charged his ambassadors, if need were, to declare 'that upon urgent occasionis offerit of imployment of sic cumpanyes as be thair trayning up in they partes have atteaned to a greater perfectioun in service nor others of lesse experience in this countrey, we ar desyrous to have

thame revoked and transported to this realme for their sic imployment heir as shalbe thought be ws expedient' (Nos. LXXI, LXXX). No 'great necessitye,' however, forced them to 'propone' such a startling demand. Its chief significance lies in the insight into James's secret thoughts. Scottish soldiers trained in the wars in the Low Countries and in France might one day be turned to the service of their native sovereign. He also looked to have support 'if need be with money shippis and artillery' from his wife's kinsfolk against Bothwell and England (No. VII, part II). This need did not arise, but they were called upon to intervene in another domestic crisis.

The ambassador who bore the 'glade and acceptabill newis' of 'the birth of a young sone' was also charged to 'deale earnestlie . . . that express commissioun and charge may be gevin' to the envoys 'for assisting the baptisme' to intercede with the Queen in favour of the Chancellor in the vexed question of the lordship of Musselburgh, and to advise her 'to conceave that good opinioun of him quhilk . . . he maist justlie deservis' (No. LXXVI).

This was more than a private dispute about the enjoyment of lands and revenues. Not for that alone was the Chancellor forced to 'craif a lycence . . . to depairt the cuntrey,' or at least to live in some 'remot part from the court' where he would be 'voyd of all suspitioun of practyse and factioun,' until a better day when he could once more serve the King 'be hir majesteis good lyking with out your majesties perrell, inquyatting of the estait, or juste greif of ony neir to your majestie' (No. LX). His enemies, powerful in birth and office, had the ear of the Queen, and the lordship of Musselburgh was a convenient pretext to mask 'quyet calumnies and privie suggestion.' The true facts of this obscure incident will probably never be ascertained. They were admittedly such as could not

be dragged into the full light of day; but certain points are brought out, or suggested, by the Warrender Papers.

In the first place, 'nether craftie surmyses misreporte nor credit of quhasumever' had alienated the King's 'constant favour and wnchaingable guid will' towards his Chancellor; yet, notwithstanding the 'na small hinderance' of state affairs 'evill managed throw occasioun of his absence' James was powerless to protect his minister. He acknowledged that he was touched 'neare in honour' in Thirlestane's resignation of the lordship of Musselburgh; and 'publict fame' bruited a darker connection in conspiracy and crime between them—a connection which gives point to the Chancellor's statement that his continued presence at court would not only have been suicidal to himself, but also 'ane occasioun of your majesties perrell or dishonour.' It is possible that 'howsomever it hes bein conciled and disgysit to your majestie . . . quhat has bein intendit aganst me,' they both knew that the servant was to some extent the scapegoat for the master (Nos. LX, LXXVI).

Perhaps the best clue to these mysteries is to be found in the murder of the Bonny Earl of Moray by Huntly at Donibristle on 7th February 1591-2. Popular opinion had good ground to suspect that Huntly's arm struck for the King and Chancellor as well as for himself. The murder was certainly more than an episode in a private blood-feud between two rival houses in the North. It was both the result and the cause of a vast network of conspiracy which divided and distracted the whole country. In men's minds the cause of Moray, Bothwell, Argyle, and the Kirk were more or less clearly identified on the one side; the cause of the King, Chancellor, and Huntly on the other; while the shifting sands of personal jealousies and private animosities were an incalculable force. It is significant that the same month of February saw the murder of Moray

at Donibristle in the east, and of the Laird of Cawdor 'privelie under the castell wall of Dinnone' in the west. These two crimes were said to be connected in plan as well as in time: both equally deliberate strokes in a dark and intricate conspiracy.

We certainly have a strange revelation of the state of society in the depositions of John Oig Campbell (No. LXXXI). Bedfellows hatched murder in the night; and a 'speciall' friend kept crime 'clois' under sworn oath, because he 'luiffit' the deviser thereof 'best of ony man levand, and held maist of him.' Love and vested interests were woven together in the fabric of clan loyalty. Human life had little value when murder was deliberately planned and carried out to order in the way of business.

The murderers of Cawdor 'awatit upon him in all places quhair they micht conveniently for his slawchtter quhill in the end thay gat the same done,' and they had the callous ingenuity to chew the bullets to a size suitable for the 'reid stokkit hagbutt' which fired the fatal shot.

Linked up with this crime was an 'interprise aganis the erll of Ergyle his person and estait.' Contradictory statements in confessions and recantations obscure the true facts of the alleged, far-flung conspiracy. Huntly and the Chancellor were both said to be parties to it, and certainly Argyle was one of the Chancellor's enemies on the Queen's side during his disgrace. It was he, also, who was employed by James and the Kirk to proceed against Huntly at Glenlivat 'for the slaughter of the Erle of Murrey' (No. LXXXVIII). The actual coalition against Thirlestane in 1593 probably proceeded from 'particular grudgis and pickes' of a more or less transient nature (No. LIX), like his own former complicity with Huntly; but his enemies had the greater power in so far as he and his master were both branded with unrefuted suspicions.

It is noteworthy that the 'Band dyted . . . by his

Majesties self' after Bothwell's Raid of Falkland was never put into effect (No. LIX). James and his Chancellor found that it was a costly business to recover the position they had lost. They could not, when they would, heal faction 'to the quyeting of this troubled and disordered commoun weill, and to the procuring of all dewtifull and reverent obedience to his Majestie throughe out the haill countrey.' The irresponsible Bothwell and the purposeful 'Jesuites and seminarye preistes and other practizing papistes' were not turned aside in their course by any solid wall of opposition. James and Thirlestane were constant in their hostility to Bothwell; the Kirk in its hostility to 'Jesuites' and 'papistes'; but James saw benefits in 'dandling' the Catholic Earls, the Kirk in pleading for Bothwell.

Such a state of affairs made possible the wild conspiracy known as the 'Spanish Blanks.' The actual seizure of the incriminating papers on 27th December 1592 was sudden and sensational, but for many months it had been common knowledge that plots were hatching. In November, Elizabeth had offered to 'reveal overtures' whereby James would know his enemies; and warned him to beware of 'such as sett their countrie to saile' (No. LXI). In December, Robert Bruce, Catholic agent, received remission 'for the treasonable traffecquing with princes and strangeris of forrane nationes outwith this realme, and Jesuites, seminarie preistis and excommunicat personis within the samin.' When one considers what deep designs underlay the alleged desire for this remission, it is perhaps well for 'all the precise hertikis and ther railing ministers' that they showed themselves as 'furthwart' as their adversaries (No. LXII and n.).

Their vigilance is seen in the active part played by the Kirk in the apprehension of Ker, the agent of the conspirators, and is further indicated by the fact that the

Warrender copy, which supplies the full text of the depositions of Fintry and Ker for the first time, is found among a collection of ecclesiastical documents. The discovery of the 'Blanks' cleared the air by putting an end to a prolonged state of nervous tension. Certain danger was less fearsome than haunting dread, and perhaps the plotters had rendered their greatest service to the King of Spain in creating an atmosphere of suspicion.

It is difficult to guess what serious hopes of success had been entertained by the contracting parties. Philip doubtless wished to keep Elizabeth apprehensive, and Scotland divided against herself whether by means of Bothwell or the Catholic Lords. One wonders, however, if such an experienced and suspicious diplomatist would place much faith in blanks signed by three Scots Earls and to be filled up by a Scottish Jesuit in Spain. He and they must have felt that it was a hare-brained scheme, incompatible in its aims and impractical in execution. As far as the noblemen were concerned it is not difficult to believe that 'the chiefest thing . . . they had to seik wes money'—money destined more probably to advance 'thair awin particularis' than the donor's. They could afford to make promises lightly when the conditions for fulfilling them were likely to be remote. Probably all of them could 'answer to God' that they knew not 'quhat suld haif ensewit' if the 'men and moyen frome Spayne' had actually arrived 'for the advancement of the Catholique Religioun in this cuntrie . . . and the concurrance of the noble men to furder the invasioun of England' (No. LXV). Whatever they thought it politic to express, they must have known that the latter project could not be undertaken 'without prejudice' of their own sovereign's 'titillis,' and that, with a foreign army in the country, there could be no bloodless 'subversioun of the religioun presentlie professit and erecture of papistry.'

If they would be content with 'libertie of conscience' they had more to gain as loyal subjects than as traitors. The former accomplices of the Brig of Dee (1589) knew from experience that the King's favour was a strong bulwark against the attacks of the Kirk. They could also count upon the support of the merchants 'whose avaritious hartes may be easalye corrupted to shake off thair duetye and alledge[ance]' (No. LXXXII). Their lot was much more favourable than that of their English brethren, whom Cardinal Allen sought to comfort in their sufferings (No. LXIII), and it was unwise to raise issues in an uncompromising way by identifying their religion with political treason and foreign domination. From this time onwards, however, matters tended to be pushed to an extreme.

The 'Papistis and apostat lordis' continued their trafficking with Rome and Spain, and the more 'thair insolent behaviour uttered what thay expected,' the more the Kirk became alarmed and clamorous for vigorous proceedings against them. When, in October 1594, the King at last determined to bring matters 'to an honourable and successful issue' (No. LXXXVIII) he found greater support from the Kirk than from all the promises of the Queen of England. It may seem surprising that his expedition did not take place until three months after he had professed to fear that the Papist Lords and 'avaritious' merchants might stir up serious 'trouble and insurrection' unless 'dew prevention and tymous remedyes' were used (No. LXXXII). But it is to be noted that these 'great perrils' were to be 'exaggerat' to the Queen of England 'in sic sort' as would promote his own interests. His most immediate dread was the possible result of Bothwell's 'privye reconciliation with the Papistis and excommunicat lordis.'

We have seen, however, that no good came from this alliance to any of the parties to it. According to Bothwell,

they were animated by no religious principles. He was, of course, scarcely likely to confess devotion to Catholicism to Presbyterian divines ; but if he and his accomplices had any plans for the ' alteration ' of religion, these were not compatible with their alleged offer to satisfy the Kirk when they had gained their ends (No. LXXXV). The ' great undertaking,' for which they dropped old feuds and shuffled with political and religious allegiances, was ' to put in practize the lovable custome of our progenitouris at Lauder.' In this aspect the conspiracy was an attack against the Chancellor, for in their eyes he had again become chief of the ' evill advysit Counsalouris about his Majestie.'

It was admittedly policy rather than fear that inspired James to make the most of the ' discovery of some new intendit practizes ' of the Spanish faction (No. LXXXII). His aim was to force Elizabeth to ' have honorable consideratioun ' of him ' in the matter of support ' ; otherwise, he threatened to take some ' calme course . . . with the Papist lordis ' (No. LXXXIII).

In actual fact, when the King made this ultimatum his mind was more set upon riding the ring in the ' mask ' of a Christian Knight of Malta than upon taking the field in serious warfare against his disaffected subjects (No. LXXXIV). Princes and potentates standing ' in straict amitye and freindship ' with Scotland had been invited to ' assist the baptisme ' of his young son, and James had characteristically determined that, as such an assemblage of European ambassadors was unprecedented in Scottish annals, so the ceremony should be fittingly marked by an unparalleled ' magnificence ' of ' pastyme and devyces.'

It was in degree rather than in kind that James wished to excel. Pageantry and conceits were a characteristic of the age : the oration of the Hermit of Theobalds to Queen

Elizabeth was another manifestation of the same spirit (No. LXXIII). It was a commentary upon the King and upon the times that the original date fixed for the baptism had to be postponed, and that even in the end there were hitches in the programme. Thus, ' some arysing letts ' made it impossible to carry out the ' conceate ' devised for the second day's pastime, ' quhilk gif it had bene brought to affect this cuntre had not sene nor practised a mair braver . . . inventioun . . . commendable and wonderfull be reason ' of ' the braverye and strange apparrell ' of persons riding upon ' dyvers shapes ' of fantastic beasts. It would also seem that at the banquet, revelry was marred ' thro a litill over fondness ' of a masquer ' in love with his awen wor[k]manship.' The incident is obscure, because it was not ' pertinent . . . to enter mair amplye in the same, the invention being the kings ' (No. LXXXIV).

Masques and pastimes, however, did not absorb all the King's attention. Statecraft was mixed with revelry. In the concourse of so many ambassadors he saw a fitting opportunity ' to insist and renew . . . intermitted dealing ' to form ' ane conjunct legation for aggrement and reconciliation amangis all other Princes betuixt whome thair standis contraversye or quarrell ' (No. LXXXII). When in Denmark he and Maitland had discussed such a scheme (No. XLVII) ; and the ' intermitted dealing ' had begun officially in 1590 with the mission of Colonel Stewart and John Skene to the Princes of Germany on the occasion of their assembly at Brunswick for the marriage and reception of Elizabeth of Denmark, James's sister-in-law, at one time proposed for his own bride (Nos. XLIV, XLV). The negotiations proved abortive, but the King's Instructions to his ambassadors are none the less enlightening as to his character and aims.

He was a peace-lover, who hated war in theory as an offence against the ' creator who is a God of peax ' ; and

in practice because of its ' perrèllous sequelles and doubtefull eventes, the assured dommage and incertane commodityes.' He did not forget the importance of economic affairs in everyday life—that men were ' twiched both for Religions cause and thair toll ' (No. XLV). His ideal was to be, if possible, a peace-maker and arbiter in Europe; otherwise to hold a balance of power against Spain by the formation of a ' contreleague and band als well offensive as defensive ' (No. LXXXII). Thus when the proposal of a ' conjunct legatioun ' was found not to be a feasible ' expedient ' to compose the differences between France, Spain, and England, he supported the cause of Henry IV. and offered to mediate between him and the Guises (Nos. L, LXXVIII).

More fruitful were his overtures with the Low Countries to promote a ' general alliance among all Christian rulers and states to crush the schemes of the King of Spain and his adherents ' (No. LXXI). They answered with a profession of ' frank concurrence and ready dispositioun,' and James was doubtless stimulated by their expressed belief that, ' under God, the alliance can best be promoted by his Majesty who has a special interest in it, was its originator and has suitable resources ' (Nos. LXXX, LXXI). Of his ' special interest ' there could be no doubt; but his ' suitable resources ' were intellectual rather than material, and certainly not adequate to create a Protestant league in celebration of his son's baptism.

The documents in this section close with reflections upon ' the pernicious designs of the Catholics,' and a prayer that ' these designs will be frustrated by his Majesty and all others.' Fittingly enough, these hopes and fears were expressed to the Chancellor of Scotland by one of the recent Dutch ambassadors at the baptism. A struggle still lay before both of the countries represented; but the Chancellor's fight was finished. Whatever his faults and crimes,

Maitland of Thirlestane stands before us in these Papers as a statesman faithful to his master, a moderate Protestant, a friend towards the cause of amity with England and the ideal of a Protestant league, or ' Christian Commonwealth ' of nations (Nos. XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII).

XLIII

James VI. to the Estates of the Low Countries

3 June 1590.

Captain Alexander Wishart has complained to James VI. that the Estates of the Low Countries are owing him five months' pay for his foot soldiers, and six months' pay for his horse soldiers. His companies, raised by commission of the Estates at his own charges, have been disbanded, but he has received nothing in the way of arrears for his expenses in equipping horses and arms, notwithstanding the written recommendations of gentlemen of Holland in his favour. James therefore requests the Estates to accommodate him and grant his reasonable demands.

Messieurs, nous ayant este remonstre par nostre subject et serviteur le Capitain Alexander Wischart qu'estant en vostre service es Pais Bas il ait mené des compagnies de gens de pied par lespace de huict mois, dont il na receu paye que de trois mois et par ainsi luy reste encore a payer pour cinq mois; pareillement que ledit Capitaine ait par vostre commission levé a sa depense propre une compaignie de cent chevaux avec lesquels il vous ait tresfidellement servi par lespace de huict mois sans estre paye que de deux, dont reste encore a payer pour six; et encore que ledict Capitaine et ses compaignies ayent este casses apres lesdits mois expires toutesfois il na rien receu de sa dicte paye deue ny pour le frais et depense quil a fait pour les chevaux et armes nonobstant les recommendatoires escrites par Messieurs de Holland en sa faveur. Parquoy a sa juste requeste nous luy avons octroye cette presente vous suppliant tresaffectueusement vouloir expedier le dict Capitain et luy donner ce que de raison il demande de vous,[1]

[1] This was not the end of the financial grievances of Captain Wishart and his wife against the Estates of the Low Countries. 'A maist rigorous and extreme forme of proceding usit aganis thame be the same Esteatis' compelled 'recours to his Majestie and Lordis of Secrete Counsale and Sessioun for remeid' in 1592. (*P.C.*, iv. 751.)

vous asseurant que si vous luy donnez a cognoistre que ma recommendation a quelque pois envers vous je mestimeray vostre tresoblige, et que mayez faict un plaisir duquel je tacheray a toutes occasions de me revencher. Et en cest endroit je pryeray Dieu,

Messieurs, vous avoir a tousjours en sa saincte et digne garde. De nostre palais de S^te^ Croix ce troisieme de Juin lan de grace 1590 et de nostre reigne le vingt et troisiesme.

Vostre bien bon amy

[*Endorsed*] Request to the estates for Captain Wischart,[1] 1590.

Copy, unsigned, 1 p. Vol. B, 470.

XLIV

Letters patent of James VI.

[*c.* 6] June 1590.

Since it is the duty of all christian princes to keep peace and concord not only within their own dominions but also as between themselves, We, therefore, wishing to allay the fierce fires of warfare, and, if possible, to avert the common danger that threatens all the christian world, and trusting in the faith, industry, and integrity of our well-beloved counsellors, William Stewart, Prior of Pittenweem,[2] and John Skene, advocate in the Supreme Court,[3] appoint and

[1] 'Captain Wishart received a commission as captain of horse-arquebusiers in March 1586, and served until 1615 or 1616.' See references to him in *Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. i. (Scot. Hist. Soc., edited James Ferguson). Cf. No. LXXX.

[2] On 6 June 1590 the Privy Council passed an 'act in favour of the Commendator of Pittenweem, going on an embassy to Germany.' (*P.C.*, iv. 488-489.) His character was suspected, and his appointment was distasteful to the English government. (*C.S.P., ad indices.*)

[3] Sir John Skene, afterwards Lord Curriehill, an eminent lawyer. He had been in Denmark in his early years, and had been associated with the Earl Marischal in the matrimonial mission of 1589. His appointment on this embassy was universally approved. The English government considered him a 'wise and honest associate,' well fitted to deal with the

ordain them our commissioners, procurators, ambassadors, and special orators, giving and granting to them, jointly and severally, authority, faculty, and plenary power and special mandate for us and in our name on whatsoever days and places to confer, treat, and finally conclude with our dear brother, Christian IV., King Elect of Denmark and Norway, and with the Regents of Denmark; also with the illustrious princes Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector of the Roman Empire; Christian, Duke of Saxony, Elector and Arch-marshal of the Holy Roman Empire; John George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Elector of the Roman Empire

[heir to leif ane greit blank] [1]

and with their accredited commissioners, one or more, anent ways and means of pacifying, and away-putting in friendly wise these wars, which affect and endanger the whole of Europe; according to the power and tenor of our mandate, granted to our ambassadors thereanent.[2] Moreover, to our foresaid ambassadors in manner aforesaid we grant full power and faculty by the tenor of these presents to grant, give, and receive letters, instruments, and other documents anent all and sundry the treaties, pacts, conventions, and promises, and if need be, to take oath in our name anent the articles, all and sundry, and contrarywise to demand oaths, and to do, decree, and ordain all other things in the premises necessary or oppor-

Colonel's possible 'misbehaviour.' James VI. told Bowes, the English ambassador, that 'knowing Mr. John Skene to be religious, learned, and honest, having the Dutche and Latine tonges, with great acquaintance with sondrie princes in Germanie, and the chefe lerned men about the princes there, therefore he thought it mete to joyne him with the Colonell, trusting the same should well content her majestie, chefelie upon her majesties knowledge of the sufficientcie and good affection of Mr. Skene.' (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 414, 409.) See also Skene's Life in *D.N.B.*

[1] A space is left at this point for the insertion of other names. These words in the vernacular are written, within brackets, in continuation of the last line of the text before the blank.

[2] The matter of a Christian League had been already mooted during the King's visit to Denmark. It was proposed to deal 'with the King of Spaigne for peace, and also for a league uppon refusall of the peace.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 408.)

tune, according to our mandates granted to them: also if special mandate be required to perfect the matter, promising our kingly word to hold firm and stable all and everything that our said ambassadors shall do in the premises, and to observe the same whole and inviolate. In faith and witness whereof we have ordered our great seal to be appended to these presents, subscribed with our hand.

Edinburgh, June, the year of salvation 1590.

Latin: copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 298.

XLV

Instructions for Colonel Stewart and John Skene

9 June 1590.

For that celeritye is requyrit in your negotiatioun, ye shall omit na diligence in prosequuting your charge and use all speade possible in your jorneyis and voyage, absteaning frome all unnecessarye abode be the way, or diverting anye where, bot where the necessitye of your erand shall carye yow.

Prease be all meanes (yf conveniently yow may) to be in Denmarke before the departour of the Quene our darrest mother frome thence; [1] that by conference and deliberatioun had with suche of that state weill devoted to your erand and sincerelye affected toward ws, asweill resyding there as that ar to accumpanye her, yow may the more resolutlye travell in your negotiatioun.

After yow have delyvered our letter and hartyest commendation to the Lord Chancellare, Regentis and otheris most zealous and kyndelyest devoted toward ws of the counsale of that state, yow shall call to rememberance the motioun made to thame first be our Chancellare in our behalfe, thereefter be our selfe, desyring thame to considder deiplye of the moment and daingerous sequele of the un-

[1] The Queen was going to Brunswick for the marriage and reception of her daughter, Princess Elizabeth. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 401.)

kyndlye warres betuixt the Quene of England our darrest sister, the King of France our darrest brother and the King of Spayne, how manye inconvenientis may growe thereby, what effusioun of christiane bloode, and what unquyetnes to all Europe, thay being all so mightye princes and having so great allyances, sa stronge confederacyes, and so strait conjunctions with so manye princes and potentates that almost wholle Christendome shall participat thereof; bot cheiflye all that sincerelye professis Christ have caire-fullye to advert to forsee thare parrell, and to provyde dili-gentlye for there seurtye.[1] This being no privat quarrell founded on particulair injuryes bot ane olde project decreed in the Counsell of Trent for subversioun of the trew religioun and overthrow and utter extermin[at]ioun of all sincere professouris thereof, prosequute frome tyme to tyme as weill by craft as violence, no opportunitye lost where advantage might be had, monye bloodye executiouns without respect to faith or honestye, forces ever preparing a straite league and universal conjunctioun of all called Catholiques termed Holye for thair sacred intentioun to destroy and roote ou[t] all accompted heretiques. The King of Spayne entituled Catholique the heade and cheif pro-moter of that cause and confederacye, not onlye for zeale to Religioun, bot alsua affecting a Monarchye whereunto (having suche wealth frome the Yndes and so lairge domi-nions in the occident) he houpes to attaine with small difficultye, yf he may ather posses, overthrowe or dissolve the state of France, or redact it in the power of one of his clientis or partisans, conquest or subdue Englande, and consequentlye that restis of the Lowe Countreyis, whereby he should posses the seas, and asseure his navigatioun: the Pope sa addict to him, the Empereur his nepheu, the Duke of Savoye his sone in law,[2] in freyndship with the

[1] In a letter to James in Denmark, Elizabeth alludes to an overture, in which she traced his 'consent,' to treat of peace between England and Spain. (*Letters, Elizabeth and James*, No. XXXIV.)

[2] Charles Emmanuel I. was married to Catherine, daughter of Philip II. His mother was Margaret of France, and after the death of Henry III. he had ambitious designs upon Provence, but was not supported by his father-in-law. (*C.M.H.*, iii. 413-416.)

most pairt of the Suysses; the Duikis of Lorraine Bavier and all the ecclesiasticalles in Germany sa devoted to him, the kingedome of Pole destinat to one of his nepheus, now grievouslye afflicted,[1] and allwayes likelye to be possessed be one of the Romishe associatioun: Be these and manye othir evident indices it is manifest this warre in outward shewe directed against Englande, and assistance geven to the rebelles of France is intended against all the sincere professouris of Christ his trueth, and all suche as for main-tenance of there owen kingedomes and states wolde mislyke or withstand his Monarchye, so that not onlye the progresse thairof will breade the trouble and encombrance of the most pairt of Christendome, but the event and sequel is most daingerous, threatning subversioun of treue Religion and overthrowe and utter ruyne of all states treuelye pro-fessing the same. We therefore earnestlye desyred thame, as weill for the publict respect, commoun quyetnes, main-tenance of peax and trew religioun, as for our privat interest, as alsua that thair awin state wolde not be voyde of parrell in the commoun calamitye, and not onlye wold participat the universal unquyetnes, bot alsua would be particularlye twiched bothe for Religions cause and thair toll, that thay wolde recken with thame selfes the infinite perrelles and monye inconvenientis likelye to fall out, whiche we saw no fit expedient to prevent without hazard of our states, bot one, to wit, that a nombre of Princes weill affected to Christiane peax and trew religioun, wolde be commoun resolutioun direct a joinct legatioun of a few persones authorized and instructed from thame all to the said Princes of Englande France and Spayne to mak remonstrance to thame, and admonishe thame in the behalfe of the haill, that thay being Christiane Princes whose houses and states hes longe continued not onlye in seure peax, bot in strait amity and olde confederacye often

[1] The King of Poland was a Swedish prince, Sigismund III. But 'it was discovered in the earliest years of the reign that the king, who had married a Habsburg princess, was willing to surrender the crown of Poland to an Austrian archduke, and to return to his native Sweden in order to bring it back to the Catholic fold.' ('Poland,' in *Ency. Brit.*, 14th edit. p. 140.)

and of late in vearye neir allyance, no suche cause offered nor injuryes done be onye of thame to other as may justlye move so hote desyre of sa cruell revenge as so deadlye a warre may produce, or that might provoke onye of thame to attemptat so heighlye against the persone or estate of other, and to lay before thame the offence of God, whose highe displesour may be kindled thereby; the grief of thair consciences the great and manye inconvenientis that may growe thereon; the disturbing of the commoun peax of Christendome; the effusioun of Christiane bloode, the harme and daingers of there subjectis, freindis, confederates and dominions, the perrellous sequelles and doubtefull eventes, the assured dommage and incertane commodityes: and therewithall to intreate thame by all good meanes to give eare to the godlye and just motioun of so monye weill affected Princes to thame, to reverence their creator who is a God of peax (whose lieutenantis thay ar) to dispose thair hairtes thairto, to shaw thame selffes conformabill, not to disdaine the honest petitioun, nor frustrat the travelles of so freyndelye intercessouris and suffer thair differencis to be amicablye composed be a firme peax seure and honorable for thame both, and all thair freindis and confederates; as alsua to signifie to the king of Spaine that this sa hard dealinge against the Quene of Englande and king of France ministratis no small occasioun of jealousye to all the Princes protestantes, that in respect of the Decree of the Counsell of Trent, the Halye League and other lait proceadeur, this may seme rather a generall project against thame all, then a privat quarrell or particulare revenge, which be his conformitye and enclyning to peax wilbe fullye clered and removed. And on the other pairt to declaire to the Quene of Englande that her continuance in warre will argue in her not onlye a dispositioun unsemelye for her sexe, bot also will move and encreasse against her a generall mislyking of all the sincere professouris of God his trueth for hazarding inconsideratlye the estate of religioun, whiche may be broght in extreame dainger thereby.

Sen the king of Spaine is of so great aage, so weake of

persone, having latelye had so great lose, whiche hardelye he may sone repair, his dominions so distant and sparsed, the Indes whereby his state is cheiflye mainteaned the lesse profitabill, that ather he is enforced at exorbitant chairges to keepe a stronge navye for the seurtye of intercours to a[nd] frome the same, or suffer daylie direptions, and his naviga[tion] be stayed or intermitted be lykeliehode he will inclyne to quyetnes, settill his state, assuire his dominions, and leave his young sone (who is not accompted of stronge bodye) in peax and seurtye, and harken to honorable and seure condition[s], permit all privat quarrelles be componed and transacted—onles he be puft up be ambitioun yet to aspyre to a Monarchye or set up his rest on the subversioun of trew religioun and professouris thairof. Yf so be, we all wilbe enforced aither wilfullye or shamefullye to perishe, or sincerelye joyne our selfes together in a firme amitye and seur contreleague, and with joynt myndes and forces occur and tymouslye obviat to the cruell desseingis, and ungodlye projectis of the adversarye, whiche yf it be offensyve and defensive, he were not habill to mainteane his Yndes against all our power be sea, without the whiche his estate might nather consist in seurtye nor grandeur.

We therefore desyred thame cairfullye to embrace this expedient, and not onlye to joyne with ws therein, bot also to use all there meanes and credit to persuade the Princes of Germanye speciallye of there freyndship and allyance, with whome we would cause deall particularly to this end and would deale be our selfis with sic as were to repaire in that realme. Whereunto thay aggreed most willinglye as weill for thame selfis as to joyne with ws in soliciting of others.[1]

Ye shall in our name reiterat the said motioun, and earnestlye crave that some of good credit and qualitye be directed to joyne with yow in thair name amplye instructed

[1] In a letter to James on 29 September, Christian IV. stated that the Electors and Princes were 'not averse from assisting in that pious and necessary business,' but would act only by common council. (*Denmilne Papers*, Calendar in National Library.)

to this end, and speciallye Henrie Ramell, to whome you shall delyver our letter, and earnestlye deale to accept and use the sayd commissioun and directioun.

You shall with all convenient expeditioun addres you to Bruniswik or other pairt of the assemblye of the Princes and delyver to everye ane of thame our severall letters with our hartyest commendatiouns and in our name signifye to every ane of thame cheiflye the Electeurs of Sax and Brandenbourg (as we have set doun before that we delt with the Chancellare and counsale of Denmarke), laying before every ane of thame what daingerous sequale, what effusioun of Christiane bloode, what trouble to all Europe and how manye inconvenientis, whereof whole Christendome is likelye to participat, appeares to ensew on this unchristiane warre moved be the king of Spayne against our darrest sister the Quene of England and our darrest brother the king of France, as alsua to desyre thame to call to mynd the bloodye decree of Trent against all that sincerelye professe the Gospell, the continuall preparationis of forces, the craftye dealinge to commit the protestantes amongest thame selfes, the Holy League amongest all Papistes, thair cruell executions and massacres, the murdouris of so monye princes and persones of accompt, some attempted, some essayed, and some yet intend[ed]: what practizes, what devyces, what entrepryses all tending to that end and manifesting evidentlye the warres professed against the saidis Princes ar intended against all that sincerelye professe the evangell, and with tyme will tend to the subversioun of religioun in every severall place and particul[ar] overthrow of there estates and dominions: the king of Spai[n] besyde the cause of Religioun proposing to him self a Monarchye encouraged be his powar and lairge dominions in dyvers pairtes of the earthe, having the Pope, the Empereur, so manye Princes in Germanye and confines thereof so far addicted to him, finding small impediment bot in the states of France and England, whiche yf he may subvert or subdue, it were easye to him to atteane to his desseinge (as it is set doun before). The onlye meane to obviat to all these inconvenientis and quyet the estate of all Christendome is to compose the differencis and set the Princes foirsaidis at peax. The fittest expedient thereof (yf anye be) is be a conjunct legatioun, direct frome a nombre of Princes, to wit frome ws our darrest brother the elect king of Denma[rk] the electouris of Sax Brandenbourg and Palsegrave the D[ukis] of Brunisewick, Mechilbourgh Pomer Holstein Lunenbourg Prince Anolt Langrave and others zealous of peax and God his glorye, fullye instructed and authorized be ws all to dea[ll] and remonstre as is abone mentionat, which yf it be yelded unto, then shall the trew religioun continew in seurtye, and Europe for the most pairt rest in peax and quyetnes. Utherwayes yf it be refused, and the godlye travelles of so weill affected Princes frustrat and disdained, yf th[e] refuse shall proceid frome the pairt of the Quene of Eng[land] or the king of France preferring particular revenge to commoun quyetnes we will deme there quarrell unlawfull, thame selfes enemeyis to quyetnes and disturbatouris of the public peax, yeeld up to all amitye and freyndship with thame during thair obstinacye and suffer our subjectis and commodityes of our dominions be used to the ayde and maintenance of there adversarye. And yf the king of Spaine will stubburnelye reject so godlye a motioun and obstinatlye refuse gud and equitable conditions (as be likelyeheede he will not for the caussis foirsaidis), it argues plainlye a covert meaning and will detect a manifest intentioun against religioun and all that sincerely profes the same, whiche as it concernis ws all most higelye both in conscience and state, so mon we sincerelye joyne ourselfes in a contreleague, and tymouslye obviat to his pernitious desseingis and projectis, which yf it were both offensyve and defensive wald be the more for our suirtye and to his greater harme and grievance.

As we be our selfe at our lait being in Denmarke delt with our darrest brother and father in law the Dukis of Brunisewik and Mechelburgh to this same end, and reported there kynd and loving answere, ye shall also reiterat the same to thame severallye, of whome (I doubt not) you shall report the lyke.

You shall deale severallye in the lyke sort with everye one of the foirsaidis princes, and yf yow find thame frankelye disposed, spare not to motioun it publiclye to thame all at one tyme.[1]

Travell be all meanes that the legatioun be speadelye directed speciallie to Spayne and all celeritye be used, for that delay may breade a let, and geve ws tymelye wairning of the persons and tyme shalbe appoynted.

The lyke man also be directed toward England and France to entreat those Princes in lyke sort. Let the tyme be signifyed to ws that we may joyne one frome ws to deale conjunctlye with thairs. Let your chief travell be that a league (at least defensive yf forder may not be obteaned) be firmelye promitted in case the king of Spaine continew obstinat, reject the legatioun, geve flat refuse or use shiftes delayes or remises to frustrat the effect thareof.

Yf the tyme of the assemblye at Bruniswik be prorogat to a longer day or holde not at all, you shall deale with thame severallye, and yf yow find thame weill affected deale earnestlye for a meting in some convenient place sa sone as you may move thame thairto. The lyke yf before your arrivall the assemblye be dissolved.

Ye shall also travell be all meanes with the saidis princes that efter the returning of the legatioun frome Spaine France and England how and where thay shalbe convenit for taking forder resolutioun what shalbe maist expedient to be forder done in case of refuse or yelding to peax.

Yf perhapps ye be so straitit with tyme that conveni-entlye ye may not go be Denmarke and come tymouslye to the assemblye in Brunswik ye sall go the narrest way, directing allwayes some frome yow with our letters to the Chancellare of Denmarke to sollicit that yf nane be alreadye directed frome that state some be tymouslye sent to joyne with yow in this negotiatioun, as wes aggried unto when we first motioned this purpose.

All other thingis fitt to be done for the advancement and further of your negotiatioun we remit to your better consideratioun as occasioun sall fall out, keping allwayis the effect and substance heirof.

[*Endorsed*] Instructiones for Col. Stewart and Mr. Jo. Skeyne ix Junii 1590.

Copy, 6½ pp. Vol. A, 60.

Calendared in *C.S.P.*, x. no. 435, where the document is undated and much decayed.

[1] See footnote, p. 137.

XLVI

Burghley to Maitland

4 July 1590.

I am led to write to you in all friendliness for many weighty reasons. My good understanding with Lethington, your elder brother, when we were both Secretaries, was very beneficial in enabling us to bring our countries into more peaceful relations than had existed for hundreds of years; and, for memory's sake, the old affection survives towards you, his brother, a Secretary as he was, though now also Chancellor, which I take to be the office of 'principall Secretary.'[1] Further, the league of friendship between the Crowns requires goodwill between their responsible ministers; therefore, as I know that you are almost the only counsellor whom your King consults, while I am versed in the affairs of this realm, I should be glad to co-operate with you 'for the furtherance and contynuaunce of our soveraignes amitie.' Another reason for my writing

[1] Maitland had been made Vice-Chancellor and Secretary on 31 May 1586; and in August 1587 he was promoted 'to the full Chancellorship of the kingdom in conjunction still with the Secretaryship. From this date . . . the Chancellor-Premiership of Maitland begins.' His aim was 'to be constitutional Prime Minister to King James, guiding the King as much as possible while obeying him and yielding to him'; to keep order in Scotland as far as circumstances allowed; to maintain the established Protestant religion and a 'moderate good understanding with England.' (*P.C.*, IV. xiii, xxii, xxiii.)

is that from your kind letter sent by Sir John Carmichael[1] and from the report of the Earl of Worcester I learn of 'your kynde acceptaunce of my commendacions sent to yow by his lordship,' and for which I wish to thank you. Finally, I conclude with what is in itself sufficient theme for a long letter. I earnestly entreat you to support the good intentions which his Majesty expressed to Worcester[2] for suppressing Jesuits and seminarists and Spanish conspirators, as adversaries, religious and secular, of our 'common amitie.' If these be crushed, your King 'shall prosper in the sight of God, and shalbe beloved and honored of all honest men in the whole Iland,' and, making common cause with the other Protestant Princes shall be 'feared as a potent Prynce' by the Papists, who are cowardly at heart, 'lyke their Father' at Rome. I refer all the other points of 'this argument' to the bearer, Sir John Carmichael, who is very willing to help in the matter.

'4 July 1590. At the Court at Grenwych.'

Original, autograph signature, trace of seal, 1½ pp. Vol. B, 415.
An undated copy of this letter is calendared in *C.S.P.*, x no. 514.

XLVII

Nicholaus Kaas to James VI.

30 July 1590.

Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi ac Domino, Domino Jacobo sexto, Scotorum Regi, Domino suo clementissimo.

Not without great pleasure do I frequently recall to mind the distinguished sentiments which your Majesty so often expressed here to your noble and illustrious Chan-

[1] Sir John Carmichael was sent as ambassador to Elizabeth, under Instructions dated 10 June 1590. Among other things, he was to 'deale earnestlye . . . for a speadye dispatch to our ambassadouris toward Germanye, and for a lon of so muche as may serve for thair honorable furnituir and chairges during thair negotiatioun.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 420.)

[2] The Earl of Worcester arrived in Edinburgh on 15 June 1590, and had completed his mission by the 20th. He delivered to James two letters from Elizabeth, one of congratulations upon his safe return from Denmark,

cellor, Lord John of Thirlestane and to me[1] (*D. Johanne a Thirlestane comarcho et cancellario suo, mecumque*). Nothing could have been said to show more clearly your piety and deep regard (*optimi studii*) for the Christian Commonwealth. That by this honourable embassy to the Princes of Germany you have wished to give further proof of the truly royal quality of your mind, desirous of peace in Church and State, is what I most of all approve and praise. For what man is so void of sense as not to see how the increase of these hateful discords between the monarchs of France, England and Spain correspondingly spreads miseries abroad throughout almost all Europe and the whole Christian Commonwealth. Nothing, therefore, is more clearly necessary than that deliberations of Christian princes for removing these discords and restoring peace should be undertaken as soon as possible, or that consultations of this nature should be begun.[2] By such means the common danger to the common rights and conjoint powers of the Christian Princes may be warded off from their devoted heads, and peace and security may preserve the fabric of our religion against the priestly storms (*suaque Relligioni nostrae contra furores pontificios sarta tecta consistat pax et securitas*). How great was likewise the zeal of my late master, King Frederick II., in advancing this matter, witness his most ample legations to France, England and Spain, wherein he showed to the whole world that no one excelled him in promoting public

the other 'chusing him to bee of the honorable Order of the Garter together with the Frenche King.' By Burghley's instructions, Bowes, the resident agent, 'acquainted that Earl with the present state of this realm and the dispositions of great persons here, and the doings at the Convention.' (*Ibid.*, nos. 426, 427, 430.)

[1] After the King's marriage (23 November 1589), he proceeded to Denmark, and did not arrive back in Leith until 1 May 1590.

[2] On 26 September Kaas wrote that the whole matter would have to be dealt with in a general council of all the Protestant princes. As soon as a unanimous decision was arrived at, Denmark would concur in such a way as to give satisfaction to James. (*Denmilne Papers*, Calendar, MSS. in National Library of Scotland.) The Danes, however, did send 'to the King of Spain to move the treaty for peace,' apparently without waiting for a joint legation. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 546.) Cf. the complaint in July 1591 (No. LII).

concord between the said kings and the very safety of the Christian Commonwealth.

I shall try to cause my master, the present King of Denmark, to employ his active and eager mind in following seriously in his father's footsteps. With the rest of my colleagues, I, for my part as a man, will never cease to strive to my utmost to prevent his Majesty from ever turning aside in any way from his father's paths. And I will do all that lies in me to promote your Majesty's distinguished desire in the matter of the Christian Commonwealth. I humbly hope that you will learn from your ambassadors that they never lacked my advice and help.

I do not know by what gratitude or services I may merit the exceeding clemency of your Majesty, who has not disdained to call unworthy me by the name of 'Father'; but, please God and my royal master, I shall dedicate my service to your Highness before all men, and never disappoint your opinion of me.

I pray God long to preserve the Queen, and endow her day by day with richer gifts of mind and body.

'E Regia Coldingensi [Kolding] tercio Kal. Augusti anno 1590.

Regiae Majestatis Vestrae, addictissimus,'

NICOLAUS KAAS.

Latin: original, autograph signature, 3 pp. Vol. B, 475.

XLVIII

Maitland to Burghley

13 August 1590.

Your lordship's courtesy in sending me such a 'friendlie letter' by Sir John Carmichael, besides always remembering me in your dispatches to Mr Bowes,[1] and the many reasons which you give for a good understanding between us, not only testify that the old friendship with my late

[1] Bowes was sent as ambassador to Scotland in December 1589, to replace Asheby and to look after English interests and 'the maintenance of the said realme in peace and tranquillitye' during the King's absence. He

brother still survives, but also bind me to you in joy and gratitude for the honour of 'your lordshipis amytie.' Although conscious of the disparity between us, I shall do my best, according to my power, to deserve your favour; and, since our actions and designs are directed to the same end, 'our sound concurrence will produce good effectis to both our soveranes and cuntreyis.' If this island of Britain, a natural unit, with a common language and religion, shall be perpetually united by the alliance of the two crowns, then 'the antechristiane confederatis shall never be able to effectuat thair bloodye and godles intentionis.' The friendship and good understanding between our two sovereigns will be greatly stimulated if they always bear in mind 'that the fondamental seurtie of both thair states is setled on trew religioun, which falling, nather of thame may consist.' I have no doubt that now, as hitherto, you will 'use your prudence and credite' with your mistress, and I shall do my utmost here in the assurance that nothing will induce the King to swerve from 'the good course of his proceadour.' I have committed some things to the credit of the bearer, a man of proved fidelity, devoted to the cause of continued friendship between the crowns, and to your service.

Edinburgh, 13 August 1590.

[*Endorsed*] Answer to a letter from my lord Bourghley of 13 August 1590.

Copy, unsigned, 1½ pp. Vol. B, 414.
Calendared, *C.S.P.*, x. no. 462.

XLIX

Earl of Angus to James VI.

16 September 1590.

To his Majestie, delyver this.

Pleis your majestie, ane younge scholler and soune of

was given discretionary power 'to do all suche thinges as youe shall thincke metest to advance our servyce.' His Instructions are dated 3 December. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 307.)

myne passinge his tyme in the contrey not offending na man, is takein and detenit as presoner be the principallis of the Scottis, without ony offence maid be me, bot that thay will say it is ane fault to pound my awein heretaige I hald of your majestie one Eitreik Forest, for my by rest and dewtie.[1] I hoipe your majestie will think this cryme reuis[2] bayth to your majesties honor, and commone weill, and doutis not your majestie will put ordour thairto according to your majesties lawes, that sic contempt may be punischit, for your majestie laitle desyrit me to plene of ony mane that did me wrange. Quhilk I will do bot sall be leyth to suffer dishonour at thair handis. Your majesties selff is the gretest frend I leipin in curt, sua I hoip your majestie will grant me the ordour of lawe for my sounis releiff and the offenderis to be callit affoir your majestie to ane particulair day and punisit acording to thair demerit that wtheris may tak exempill. Remiting the rest to the berair declaration and your majesties awein zeill to justice. Efter my humble commendations of service commit your majestie to the protectioun of the almyte God. Frome Douglas the xvj of September 1590.

Your majesties maist humble subject

ANGUS.[3]

Original, autograph signature, trace of seal, 1 p. Vol. B, 413.

L

[*James VI. to the Viscount of Turenne*]

[*c.* 26 December], 1590.

We have gleaned from your letter a summary of the state of France, and the measures which the King, your

[1] for my arrears. The meaning seems to be that the Scotts have detained his son as prisoner on the ground, as they allege, that he cannot distrain his heritage in Ettrick Forest.

[2] reuis = injures.

[3] William, ninth Earl of Angus. He died on 1 July 1591, and had nine sons. (*S.P.*, i. 198.) There is no reference to this incident in the *Border*

master, has adopted to deliver it from the violence and malice of the Spaniard and his partisans who, at his instigation, forgetting their allegiance to their natural lord, do their utmost for his ruin and overthrow. The Sieur de Morlans, who delivered the letters from the King and you, has given us more detailed information according to your instructions.[1] We are entirely satisfied with his fidelity, judgment and diligence in carrying out his negotiation; but we would have been still more pleased if your health and your master's business had permitted you to visit us in our realm, and to give us your prudent advice in his most important affairs, common to us and other Protestant princes. We would have shown you how much we honour the prudence and fidelity, which have made you so well-beloved of your King and renowned among the first nobility of Christendom. But, since the present danger of France constrains you to keep strictly to the path of your mission, your master may count upon the whole of our forces, means or credit for the advancement of this most just and holy war,[2] which manifestly also touches us closely,

Papers or *Registers of Privy Council*; but on 2 October Bowes reported that 'for the late surprise of the sonne of the Erle of Angusse' four of the Scotts were for a short time committed to ward. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 482, p. 401.)

[1] The 'Sieur de Morlas' brought a personal letter to Maitland from Turenne, dated at London, 29 November. Turenne, who had been appointed Protector of the Huguenots, was on a mission to obtain reinforcements, and was on the point of leaving England for Germany, where he was at the date of this letter. (*Earls of Haddington*, ii. 203; *Spanish Papers*, 1587-1603, no. 602; *C.S.P.*, x. no. 510.) Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon, was considered by Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris (March 1588), to be one 'upon whose conscience and sincerity they of the Religion will most trust upon, and that indeed will have most power to be their maintainer.' (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, 1586-1588, p. 545.)

[2] On 26 December, Bowes reported that 'Monsieur Morland' had come with a despatch from Turenne, and obtained letters from James to the German princes to expedite the sending of succour to the King of France, and also a promise to send 3000 Scots to serve in France, if called for. 'The King granted these things, with large offers to party that cause with all his power, as he will make known to her majesty, and will pursue such course as she thinks best.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 510.) The German princes

both by reason of the ancient alliance between our crowns and the holy and firm bond of our religion, and because of the malicious and pernicious designs of the Spaniard who, with an inordinate ambition to build himself a monarchy upon the ruin and subversion of the Protestant states, has made his first assault upon the crown of France, in the belief that if he gain this bulwark, all the states of Christendom will fall immediately upon attack. Foreseeing this common danger, we have written to the Protestant princes of Germany, begging them to consider the irreparable damage which the least delay may cause in this matter, and effectively to show their zeal in maintaining God's Church against the attacks of its cruellest enemies. We are assured that they will act wisely, and think upon the most salutary remedies for avoiding the present dangers, for establishing the peace and security of the Protestant princes and peoples, and for repressing the audacity and violence of our enemies.

As to your plans for the advancement of your mission, the Sieur de Morlans will inform you fully that our affection is such as you could wish. Give entire credence to him.

From our Palace of Holyrood, this December [1] 1590.

Copy, or draft, unsigned and unaddressed, 1⅓ pp. Vol. B, 498.
Printed in Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 49.

LI

M. de Villiers to James VI.

4 June 1591.

At the beginning of these last troubles the officers of the Admiralty, for the safety of commerce, made a rule which has always been strictly observed in Havre. The vessels of whose taking the King writes were arrested at a time when several Scots subjects were making raids on the Pays

therefore concluded that James 'intended no further treaty for peace, but rather wished succours to be sent to the French King for defence of the common cause endangered, without looking for other answer to the articles proposed by his ambassadors.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 592, p. 546.) Cf. No. XLV. Henry IV. was at this time engaged in a war to win his kingdom. Paris was still in the hands of Mayenne and the Catholic League.

[1] Blank; but probably about the end of the month.

de Caux, and were therefore considered fair prize. Scots traders in these parts since then have always been assured of freedom of commerce.

AU ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, Des le commancement de ces derniers troubles il fie faict ung reiglement par les officiers de l'admiraulté pour le seurette du commerce, lequel a tousjours esté tres relligieusement observé en ceste ville. Et pour la prise des vaisseaulx dont il vous a pleu mescrire il me souvient quilz feurent arrestez au mesme temps qu'il y avoit plusieurs de voz subjectz dessenduz en ce pais de Caulx pour y faire la guerre a ceulx de ce party comme de faict ilz y commirent plusieurs ravaiges, qui fut cause quilz feurent adjugez de bonne prise; aiant dailleurs en touttes occasions tousjours faict congnoistre a vos dicts subjectz qui ont depuis traficque et veoiagé par deca que je ne desirois rien davantaige que de bien entretenir laisseurance et liberté du commerce, comme je continueré pour ladvenir et mestimeré tres heureux si jay moyen de vous rendre tout humble service. Priant Dieu,

Sire, quil vous conserve en sa saincte garde, Duhavre [1] le iiij jeur de Juing 1591.

Vostre tres h[u]mble e tres obeysant serviteur

VILLIERS.[2]

Original, autograph signature, ½ p. Vol. B, 518.

LII

Morlans to James VI.

$\frac{26}{16}$ July 1591.

I have hitherto delayed in sending your Majesty news of my journey: I would rather announce good results than good hopes. Now, I have

[1] Havre and other neighbouring seaports were on the side of the Catholic League against Henry III. In October 1590 James granted letters of marque against these towns because of complaints of Edinburgh merchants. (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 488, 489.)

[2] M. de Villiers, governor of Le Havre de Grace. (*Spanish Papers*, 1587-1603, no. 448.) The harbour was built and fortified by Francis I. (*Chambers's Encyclopaedia.*)

sufficient matter for a report in obedience to your commands. I left Turenne at Frankfort, where the whole army is to assemble on 27 July (N.S.), to march from there to the crossing of the Rhine. The place of gathering is a spot where Turenne can overlook all the passages of the Rhine, thereby damping the spirit of the enemy. The army is composed of 6000 horse; 10,000 foot; 14 pieces of artillery; 200 pioneers, paid for two months. Prince Christian of Anhalt is General, Turenne, Lieutenant of the King [and other officers are named].

After the whole army has assembled and the Electors have taken a new oath from the colonels, it will cross the Rhine near Mayence and march through the friendly country of the Palatinate to Lorraine where Turenne will await further orders from the Most Christian King. The support of the Princes has surpassed our hopes and equalled our desires. They have our interests at heart and will be staunch to the end. Turenne has felt the good effects of your Majesty's letters, and complains only of Denmark. The Spaniards have sown tares there while we were sleeping. They have this plausible excuse that they may one day be mediators, if they remain neutral at present. We count much upon the support of the Queen of England and her chief counsellors, but especially upon your Majesty.

Our enemies have done their utmost to hamper our levy and advance their own. They will have 9000 landsknechts and 2000 cavalry [whose leaders are named]. The Italian troops are at Milan to the number of 5000 horse and 6000 foot. They are waiting for 6000 Swiss, obtained at the request of the Pope and King of Spain; but this will take time. The Prince of Parma was threatening to return, but the Estates have put a thorn in his side by the capture of Zutphen and Deventer; and when he does come he will find the King stronger than last year. His Majesty is preparing for the siege of Rouen. He is waiting for the Earl of Essex with 4000 men, and is bringing cannon and munitions from all sides. Some days ago the prelates assembled at Mantes to elect a Patriarch of France, in order to have no more dealings with Rome. It has been thought wise to forewarn the Pope, so that he may provide a sure remedy by ridding himself of Spanish affairs, and confining himself within his own bounds. M. de Luxembourg has set out for this purpose. The Most Christian King has revoked all the Edicts extorted by the League from his predecessor. Religion apart, honours and dignities are open to all men according to their merits. Things are shaping well thereby. This year cannot pass without some crash, and I could have wished that your Majesty's subjects had given proof of your royal affection on some stricken field. The Most Christian King, however, wishes to reserve this as a last resource, but at least your offer arrived when he had great need of showing that he did not lack good friends, and you will have received letters of thanks. I am leaving here to return to the King.

Sire, J'ay differé jusques icy de donner avis a Vostre

Majesté du succes de mon voyage : aymant mieux l'entretenir de bons effetz, que de nos bonnes esperances ; joint que vos oreilles, accoustumees a toutes belles et grandes choses, ne doivent estre detournees au recit des plus petites. La bonne affection des Princes, Sire, les effortz de nos ennemis et lestat present de la France, me fournissent maintenant asses de subjet pour tesmoigner a vostre Majeste lobeissance que je veux rendre a vos commandemens. J'ay laissé Monsieur de Turenne aupres de Francfort ou toute l'armee se devoyt assembler le 27 de Juiller, stile nouveau, pour marcher de la au passage du Rhin. Le lieu de l'assembleplatz est autour de Marpurg, Fridberg et Guilhausen, d'ou Monsieur de Turenne regarde presques ecgalement tous les passages du Rhin, et partit conseguemment l'esprit aux ennemis pour ny pouvoir asseoir jugement. L'armee est composee de six mille chevaux de combat, dix mille hommes de pied : quatorze pieces d'artillerie grandes ou petites : douze cens pionniers ; payee pour deux mois qui nous porteront jusquau troisieme. Le Prince Christian d'Anhalt en est general, Monsieur de Turenne Lieutenant du Roy. Il y a au regiment du general le Prince Bernard son frere, deux Princes de Holstein et un de Lunebourg ; tous sans charge, poussés seulement d'un beau desir de voir et bien servir. Les noms des colonnelz de la cavalerie, appres le Prince d'Anhalt, qui a deux mille deux cens chevaux, sont : Le Baron d'One, Le Baron de Creange Berbistof, Le Colonnel Francis Isselstein. Pour l'infanterie : Le Conte de Vuic, le Baron de Lanti, Tempel, et Rebours.

Appres que l'armee sera toute assemblee au lieu susdit, ou les Electeurs se devoyent trouver pour prendre nouveau serment des colonnelz, elle devoyt marcher aupres de Mayence pour y passer le Rhin, et par le Palatinat pais ami, journer dans la Lorraine, ou Monsieur de Turenne attendra nouveaux commandements du Roy Tres Chrestien. Voila, Sire, les bons effetz de la bonne affection des Princes, qui ont surpassé nos esperances, et du tout ecgale nos desirz. Il ne se peut dire rien de plus entier, plus sincere, plus affectionne, au bien de nos affaires, resoulus de ne quitter la

partie, qu'un chacun n'aye quitté son ambition. Monsieur de Turenne qui a senti de bons effetz des lettres quil pleut a vostre Majesté d'escrire, se pleint aucunement de ceux de Dannemark.[1] Nous avons bien senti que les Espagnols y ont semé de l'ivroye, cependant que nous dormions. Ilz ont ceste excuse plausible de se rendre un jour mediateurs de nos differens, pour ne pancher cepandant d'un coste ni d'autre. Nous esperons beaucoup de la bonne affection de la Royne et des principaux conseillerz. Sur tout nous attendons le remede entier de vostre Majesté. Nos ennemis ont travaillé tant quilz ont peu pour traverser nostre levee et pour avancer la leur. Ilz fairont neuf mille lansequenetz et deux mille chevaux bons ou mauvais. Les colonnelz des Lansequenetz sont: Otto Henry de Brunzuuic qui acquit tant d'honneur a chaval a la bataille d'Ivry,[2] quil s'est vouleu mettre maintenant a pied, le Conte Froben de Furstenberg, Engelhart Courtz Capitaine de la garnison de Vienne; de la Cavallerie, Eckenberg, qui fait douze cens Reitres; et le reste, le Duc Frans de Louenbourg, qui est general de toutes ses forces contre les prieres et admonitions de tous ses parens. Il nous a fort mis a Brunzuuic, et a fort retenu la bonne volonte du Prince duquel nous avions beaucoup esperé. Les forces d'Italie sont a Milan, au nombre de quinze cens chevaux et six mille hommes de pied. Ilz attendent six mille Suisses que le Pape et le Roy d'Espagne ont demande et obtenu. Mais il y aura de la longueur et de lempeschement. Le Prince de Parme nous menacoit de son retour, mais ceux des Estatz luy ont jetté des espines au pied par la prinse de Zutphen et Deventer;[3] et quand il viendra il trouvera le Roy en meilleur estat, quil ne fit l'annee passee.

[1] A Danish ambassador was sent to Scotland in July 1591 to intimate that 'the King and state of Denmark have sent to the King of Spain to move the treaty for peace; having hitherto received no answer, they cannot enter into action against that King, and must forbear to join with other princes to aid the French King.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 592, p. 546.)

[2] The famous victory of Henry IV. over the Leaguers with their Flemish and German auxiliaries on 14 March 1590 (N.S.).

[3] Zutphen was captured by Prince Maurice on 20 May, and Deventer on 20 June 1591. (*C.M.H.*, iii. 626.)

Sa Majeste sappreste pour le siege de Rohan.[1] Il attend Monsieur le Conte d'Essex[2] avec quatre mille hommes, et fait venir de toutes partz canons et munitions. Despuis quelques jours les prelatz se sont assembles a Mante pour eslire un Patriarche de France affin de navoir plus affaire a Rome. On a trouve bon den advertir le Pape devant, affin quil y apporte remede certain, en se deportant des affaires d'Espagne, et se contenant en ses limites.

Monsieur de Luxembourg est parti pour ceste fin. Le Roy Treschrestien a revoque en mesme temps tous les Editz extorqués au feu Roy,[3] par la violence de la Ligue, et unit par ce moyen tous ses subjets sans aucune distinction que de la vertu, pour bailler a un chacun, outre l'exercice de la religion, l'entree aux honneurs et dignites selon son merite. Les choses prennent bon train par deca. Jespere que ceste annee sera critique pour nostre salut. Elle ne passera point sans quelque debris, puis que tant de peuples se sont convies à un festin si sanglant. Jeusse desire, Sire, que la valeur de vos subjetz eust peu remarquer en une bonne journee vostre royale affection, mais puis quil a pleu au Roy tres chrestien se reserver cela pour le dernier ancre de la tempeste, je diray pour le moins a vostre Majesté, que l'offre de vos forces arriva a la court au temps que le Roy avoit grand besoing de faire paroistre quil ne manquoit point de bons amis. Vostre Majesté aura receu lettres de remerciement, comme je la puis asseurer d'avoir tasche de mettre au jour, tant de prompte et royalle affection que j'avoys trouvé. Je pars dicy pour retourner aupres du Roy mon maistre, ou vostre Majesté se pourra asseurer d'avoir un serviteur qui ne cedera a personne en

[1] The siege of Rouen was not undertaken until November. Parma came twice to the relief of the beleaguered town, and on the second occasion forced Henry to raise the siege (April 1592). The optimistic hopes expressed in this letter were not realised. (See *C.M.H.*, iii. 51; Willert, *Henry of Navarre*, 236-246.)

[2] Essex joined Henry in September, and the German forces under Anhalt and Turenne on the last day of the same month. (*Ibid.*, 236.)

[3] The Edict of Mantes. It granted 'complete liberty of conscience and of secret worship, local rights of public worship' in certain specified towns and castles, and 'free access to all public offices.' (*C.M.H.*, iii. 675.)

la devote affection et zele quil veut garder a vostre service daussi bon cœur que je prie Dieu,

Sire, qu'il face prospere vostre regne en toute justice et vertu pour sa gloire et le repos des gens de bien.

A Diepe le 26 de Juillet 1591.

Vostre treshumble tresfidelle et tresobeissant serviteur MORLANS.

Original, holograph, slits along margin, 4 pp. Vol. B, 472.

LIII

In defence of Earl Bothwell: To the Nobility

[? *c.* June-July 1591.][1]

Just as the dumb son of Croesus burst into speech through filial devotion and fear for his father's life, when he saw him threatened by the bloody sword of a soldier of Cyrus, King of Persia, so am I compelled to break silence by the peril that threatens the chief members of the state, and to exhort them to have a regard to their own safety in this 'unjust pursuit' of Earl Bothwell. When a fire bursts out, men cast aside their 'greatest affairs' to quench the flame, but you nobles of Scotland who call yourselves sons of your country and 'bretheren of her children' are content to be 'gaping onlookers' at the peril which threatens your country and your order. Since justice is perverted by fear and force and craft, you ought to petition the King, who has power to dispense the law in equity. I do not act as advocate in a criminal cause, but I appeal to you, 'my lords of the franker sort,' whose youth and not 'laik of vertew' has hitherto kept you silent.

The charge against Bothwell is an 'incredible and unnatural accusatioun led against a noble personage by an infamous persoun moved by the dispositioun and humeur of his divilish natur, and continued by the envyful suggestioun of malicious persons, and varyeth as his houp of

[1] The endorsement reads, 'In defence of Bothuel 1592'; but the narrative has no reference to events after the Earl's escape in June 1591.

promesed pardoun dois chainge.' The consequences will be so serious, that if you do not throw yourselves, mind and body, into 'the tryel of the treuth of this actioun,' you may find hereafter that 'through your slaknes and silence' you have imperilled your own security of life and heritage.

Francis Earl Bothwell is accused of treason on a charge of witchcraft. His accuser is a 'pretended nigromancer bot in effect a lyer and a false abuser ignorant of that art that men wald attribut unto him.'

If a Ritchie Grahame affirms and Earl Bothwell denies, which—may I ask—ought to be believed?[1] If infamous persons may not bear testimony in law, should such a villain be allowed as witness, or should he 'quha hes abjured Jesus Christ the veretie it self, and suorne him to the devill the spreit of lyers and dissentioun' have faith before Christians or have credit in such a cause? Yet a character such as this has been 'legitimat by auctoretie' and a decreet of Session has been passed in his favour.[2]

As for Earl Bothwell, I shall leave out his personal qualities, his graces of mind and body, his 'gravetie and sufficiencie in public charges,' and come to the nature and time of the accusation against him.

When 'the rare report of the glorious verteus and schining beauties of Anna had brokken the frosen yce of the costs of Denmark and Norrovay and spred it self in the court and kingdome of this realme, the pepill and puirer sort of the nobilitie even by prayers,' urged on their willing

[1] 'Upon Tuisday the last of Februar [1591-2], Richard Grahame, the great sorcerer, was wirried and burnt at the Croce of Edinburgh. He stood hard to his former confessioun tuiching Bothwell's practise against the king.' (Calderwood, v. 148.) The depositions of Graham are printed, in connection with Bothwell's trial in August 1593, in *Border Papers*, i. no. 878.

[2] In the examination of the witches it was proved 'that Greyme did never accuse Bothwell in any thing till such tyme as he had a warrant under the councelles handes . . . that if he wold speake simply and trewly what he knewe, his life should be preserved, and he should lyve in Sterling castle, where he should feare no manns mallice and have good allowance.' (*Border Papers*, i. no. 878, p. 487.)

king to send an embassy ' for the mairage of that blissed couple ' ; but her sailing hither was delayed by ' conjurations of devils and witshess ' and ' by stormes and tempests ' until ' the extreme affection and impatient passioun of our invinceble king led his unafrayed courage to commit his crowne and his corse unto the raging wynds and stormy sees lyk a new Jason to bring away that golden fleish by [1] the force of al the infernal pouers and dragon devills.' During the King's absence the government was entrusted to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, with Earl Bothwell as coadjutor, and then he commended himself so greatly by his ' moderacy in goverment and discretioun in reforming him self ' that all men excused his previous conduct ' as the superflouos foame of new pressed wyne.' His renown passed into the English court, and the Queen thanked and praised him, and put him in hope of receiving ' her gretest knight[h]ood.' Such were his earnestness and zeal that the country has never since been better ruled, nor his Majesty better obeyed. (' I may justly speke it bycaus I haid in pulpit objected unto him.') [2] But, behold, he reaped only ' evil report, malicious calumnyeis and whatsumever thing ' the children of the devil could invent to obscure his glory. When the King returned with his gracious bride to his ' langueshing pepill ' he was welcomed with rejoicing and congratulations by all ranks and classes of his subjects. Even the ' insenseable elements and fairnes of the wether ' contributed ' to his happy and blissed hamecumming ' to a peaceful and well-ordered realm.

[1] by=in spite of.

[2] This is the only clue which the writer gives as to his identity. He was probably Mr. Robert Bruce, the Presbyterian minister, a man of considerable learning, gentle birth, and distinguished appearance. During the absence of the King and Chancellor in Denmark, they ' had deputed a very important honorary charge of affairs ' to him, so that he was in a position to judge of the conduct of Bothwell. (*P.C.*, iv. 430 n.) On 6 June 1591 he publicly admonished the King from the pulpit, exhorting him ' to execute justice upon malefactors, although it sould be with the hazard of his life.' (Calderwood, v. 129.) The theme of his sermon seems to agree with the tenor of his plea on behalf of Bothwell.

But before the cycle of the year had passed, comedy was turned into tragedy, with Earl Bothwell the principal figure therein. Our King allowed himself to be diverted from the worthy work of reforming his house,[1] ' and by the impressioun of a feare in his hart ' gave up his resolution to repair ' the brokken walls of his decaying kingdome, betreyed by the sentinells almaist and battred by the inhabitants thairin.' All that I declare has been proved true, and would to God that it had been otherwise. Would that the King's chief counsellors had not ' enthroned thame selfs in his royal throne, and usurping his scepter dispenseth justice with the dispensing of his honour.' In gilded and painted palaces they execute their power at the dictates of hatred and favour : and obscure ' that great majestie that ought to be geven and is dew unto his sacred person.' But since I, who love my king and country, can only bemoan but not amend these enormities, I shall return to the theme of my discourse. ' I say, then, my lords, that in a setled peace and calme this tempest did aryse that hes overwhelmed the calmnes of the Erle Bothuels repose and hes driven him on upon sic craggs quhair without your concurrence to the tryel of his cause he is lyk to mak shipvrak not through any guyltines of the forged cryme bot through the in[i]quete of tyme, and that preordinat death he is adjudged unto by others, quho fearing his pouer and revenge, wald be very sory that he lived any longar.' If he shall die because they fear him, then neither shall your lives be safe, for you also give them terror. These men, not content with having sucked up the blood of the king's mother, have turned their mind to the death of Bothwell,[2] and continually in letters upbraid the King with timidity if he do not turn against his own flesh, whereas it would be more according to reason

[1] The editor of the Register of the Privy Council shows that King and Chancellor returned from Denmark impressed with the ' necessity and the possibility of a stricter government of Scotland than hitherto.' (iv. lii.)

[2] An Englishman wrote on 9 May that : ' We say that he shall dye : the Scottes would the contrarye ; but yf he dye thay spare not to speake that to hyme as to others we mayke ther Kinge a boucher to serve our tournes.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 560.)

and honour if he should turn against themselves, who counsel him no longer to 'dandle' offenders. In their barbaric cruelty they follow the example of a woman. I do not plead the cause of the subjects of the Queen of England, but I exclaim against the murder of her kinswoman and rightful heir who, deceived by promises, was deprived of liberty for nineteen years and bereft of life,—she who might have been the mother of children. Would God that her 'insatiable thirst of blood' might have been confined to her own country. But by her 'money and moyen' she contrives the overthrow of our nobility, and of him who is now falsely accused, without regard to his 'last border actions.'

I affirm and can prove by the intercepted letters [1] of her ambassadors 'that the derections projects procedings plots and courses that hes bene used against the Erle Bothwell lyfe and estait were sent post from London and lighted with alls great haist in our court, ful of reproofes of great oversight and unadvysednes in not fallowing thar derections mair providentlie.' O Scotland, where is thy glory, where thy liberty, that thou art brought into such servile subjection to those who have ever meant thy shame and overthrow. Remember how, when Philip of Macedon invited the Athenians to enter a confederacy, Demosthenes quoted the fable of Aesop where the wolves persuaded the sheep to chase away the dog that protected them. You are now in such a plight. The peril of one is the peril of all.

[1] A letter from Bowes to Burghley was intercepted by Gilbert Penycook, who was one of those who aided the escape of Bothwell. A copy of the letter 'was set up at the west port, and left there after Bothwell's departure to be seen by all that listed.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 580. Cf. no. 555.) Richard Douglas, writing to his uncle, Archibald Douglas, on 16 May, said that it appeared from the intercepted letters 'that a great part of the Earl Bothwell's troubles proceeded from that country, and that the Ambassador himself has been very busy to blow up the coals, and that he writes assuredly of the conclusion of his death. If it be so . . . surely he has dissimulated very far with me, neither can I trust it, for I know the Earl never deserved it at his hands; for surely I believe he has never entered in no course against them since his promise in the contrary by me.' (*H.P.*, iv. 110.)

The action might be disdained if it were simply that of an infamous villain against a noble man, but when it is backed by the 'concurrence of mightie princes and the craftye courses of cruel counsellours' it must be investigated and withstood. Ritchie Grahame maintains that he sometimes spoke with Bothwell. This his evil-willers have construed as treason, and Grahame, being suborned by promise of pardon, sometimes maintains that it was. They allege that he conspired by incantation and conjuration against the life of the King,—whom God save in his growing years as in his infancy! In considering this matter, it must be remembered that many people, 'knawing the jugglary of the fallow and some other knaves that he had to renew the mynd of melancolik persons besyds the using of his skill in haling of sores and wounds, used his help and cumpanye.' It was in 'this same sort of exerceise' that Bothwell frequented him. If I gave details I should be 'prodigall of the fame of some persons,' but I remit the matter to the King himself, to whom Bothwell confided long before his accusation, and his conduct was not then accounted treasonable.

But shortly afterwards there spread a report of 'conspyraceis, conventions and conjurations' of witches against his Majesty. In the consequent apprehension of witches, 'this jugglar and abuser' thought to gain 'some creddit to him self' by acting both as accuser and witness against Earl Bothwell. Other miscreants of both sexes were also sought for, were threatened with torture and bribed with hope of pardon to depone against him, and the English, to requite the late courtesy we had done them in delivering O'Rourke,[1] sent in exchange 'a gleid witche,' [2] who, it was thought, would 'effectuat thair earnest desyre.' But on

[1] Brian O'Rourke, an Irish rebel, who fled to Scotland in March 1591, and 'laboured to stir up certain of the bordering Scots to rebellion.' (*H.P.*, iv. pp. 170-171.) Elizabeth sent a letter of thanks to James for 'deliuering up my lewde rebel' (April 1591), and he was executed for treason in the following October. (*Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XXXVIII.) See also references in *C.S.P.*, x.

[2] Bowes wrote on 14 June that 'Kennedy the witch of Reydon, lately in England, has secretly told the King sundry matters against the earl,

examination the woman confessed her guilt and cleared Bothwell. In spite of threats and torture she persisted in her deposition ; and thereupon the others also recanted. Even Grahame confessed that he had made the accusation ' bycaus it was aggreable unto the humeurs of some,' and to save himself from torture and execution. ' So for the saftye of sic a poltroun a noble man and member of this croune man be cutt off. Bot leving these divils to the spreit that leids thame I will schortlye speik of his innocencye that laboureth under this infamie.'

When he was summoned to underlie his accusation at Edinburgh, he hastened to obey,[1] and offered to ward himself in prison until the day of trial. Since other crimes could be charged against him the King in his clemency promised that ' na other mater suld be laid aganst him bot that quhilk concerned his lyfe only.' Mark and remember this, my Lords, for the revocation of this promise gave him ' just caus of fear heirefter.'

Moreover, the many honours bestowed on Bothwell, and remissions of punishment granted to him, have bound him in eternal obligation of gratitude to love and serve the King, and to spend his own life for the safety of him who has been ' his only mortil creator and saviour.' Consider also ' the proximitie of blood quhilk he hes with his Majestie ' ; [2] and how incredible it is that a man should imbrue his hands in the blood of his family. Only madness, impatience and despair would drive a man to such a course, and I cannot see ' quhat schaddow of any possebelitie thair is heirin.' Some say that he would do it ' to devert the

agreeing with Graham, his chief accuser.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 577.) This may be the ' gleid witche ' who was exchanged for O'Rourke ; but the whole of this incident is wrapped in obscurity. See the accounts by contemporary historians of the examination and trial of witches at this period.

[1] Bothwell came before the King and Privy Council on 15 April on a charge ' of treasonable consultatioun with witches against the king. He denied obstinatlie, but was committed to waird in the Castell of Edinburgh.' (Calderwood, v. 128.)

[2] Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, was the son of Lord John Stewart, natural son of James v. He was a godson of Queen Mary, who gave him the name of her first husband, King Francis II. (*S.P.*, ii. 170.)

effect of that prophecie quhilk the negromancer schew to him in Italy, that his king suld cause behede him.' [1] The simple truth of the story is sufficient refutation of that charge. ' Quhils the erle Bothuel was in Italy his sarks washar sayd to Mr. Robart Hepburne, unrequyred of him, that he to quhome belonged these sarks with sic a mark, was a great man of his countrie and suld be beheded by his prence. My lord Bothuel saw not this man nor had na conference with him ; nather did M. R. H. with any mair earnestnes inquyre the cause thairof.' Bothwell placed no weight upon it, and after his return sometimes spoke of it in jest to the King and many others.

Others allege that he conspired through ambition to succeed to the kingdom on the death of the King. But if you consider his past conduct, you will absolve him from such ' high thoughts.' He lacks the ' qualetie, conditioun, humeur and moyen that ar mordent in ambitious breists.' He has neither ' a titill to grace his pretex,' nor command of the resources of the realm to prosecute his claim, and he does not possess the art of dissimulation.

I confess that I cannot commend the godliness of his life ; but if only those of his ill-wishers who are themselves free from sin throw stones, he shall not be felled this year. Besides, even were he the most wicked sinner alive, it does not follow that he actually committed a fault because he was capable of it.

Just as I count it a sign of his innocence that he came to Edinburgh to answer his accusation, so his enemies hold it a proof of his guilt that he made his escape. But what if I reply that theirs was a greater benefit than his ? They found themselves in a dilemma from having given ear ' to that forget cryme,' and, to exonerate themselves, threw the blame upon the King's will : they promised to intercede for his deliverance, and he, growing impatient, ' maks

[1] Graham himself alleged that ' Bothwell urged him to devise means to hasten the King's end, and drove him to it to avoid his own destruction,' which had been foretold to him by ' a necromancer in Italy.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 552.) The King sent to recall Bothwell from Italy in 1581. (*Border Papers*, i. no. 109, p. 76.)

a passage upon a night baith for his releif and thair excuse.'[1]

Two courses were taken for Bothwell's overthrow—death; and, failing that, banishment. In three ways, 'by letters, by effect and by report,' he discovered that his death was determined upon. The first way was by the letters of the English ambassador, who, having in his mistress's name upbraided the King for his long patience, concluded with her Majesty's advice that he should no longer 'dandle offenders, that is to say, spare the erle Bothuel.' He persuaded the King that his life and religion would both be endangered if Bothwell lived, and that sentence against him should be carried out speedily. Such a resolution might have inspired fear into 'al the chanslers of this yle,' for, as Solomon says, the anger of princes is the messenger of death. Secondly, although on his first appearance Bothwell was assured that no other crime should be laid to his charge than that for which he was prosecuted, yet because 'he did not with solemnetie extract these acts for the present, quhen he sought thair extractioun tharefter it was denyed him, and therfor subjoneth the ambassadour in his letter that it is in deliberatioun quhether Bothuel culd be accused of other crymes or not.'

Thirdly, it was reported that the Chancellor had written to the king 'that the discord betuix him and the chalmer tooke sic belive in the harts of al men and in Bothuel him self, that he beleved to let his Majestie schortlie se that his lang desyre suld have his wished effect.'

These were the causes that led Bothwell to escape from the designs upon his head. To have been punished by banishment would have been 'als prejudicial to his honour as the other was to his lyfe.' He would be an exile under suspicion of attempted 'parracid.' If he wished licence to return, such rigorous cautions would be imposed that even

[1] 'Upon Tuisday, the 21st of June, Bothwell brak waird at two houres in the morning, and escaped out of the Castell of Edinburgh, with one of the captan's servants.' (Calderwood, v. 132.)

his quietest and wealthiest friends would be impoverished. This, also, I do not conceal, 'that the straitnes of this cautioun was requyred be Ingland,' and by their advice the day and the ship were appointed for Bothwell's departure, so that they might lie in wait to capture or sink him as he sailed from the firth.

Bothwell saw all these dangers. He has escaped, not from his trial, which he sought and could never obtain, but from the iniquity of the time. He was committed to prison on a charge of witchcraft, and is now forfeited for a crime for which he had remission[1] under the 'handwritt' of both King and Chancellor, lacking only the seal, which was omitted through negligence; but in matters of grace this does not derogate from the validity of his pardon, when confirmed by his subscription.

Thus, my lords, I have 'deduced fra the beginning the state of his caus, the insufficiency of the infamous accuser, the incertentte of his depositioun the assurance of his pardoun the project of the adversars the concurrences of the counsellours of baith the realmes to the overthrow of this stoup of ours, the impossebilitie of his attemping sic an unnatural cryme especially quhil he culd look for nathing tharefter to better his estate if he wer ambitious nor to delyver him fra punishment if that he had ather cause of displesour or revenge in this alledged conspyracie.'

Therefore I humbly request you, for the sake of the innocent Earl and his family, for the sake of justice and conscience, and for your own sakes, to intercede earnestly with the King 'all in ane voyce that his caus may be tryeit be you that ar his peres efter the lovable custom and ancient lawes of this realme,' and to suffer him no longer to lie under suspicion of such a crime. Otherwise you will

[1] On 24 June the King 'took order with the Council that judgment should be given against the Earl Bothwell for his treason of the Brigg of Dee, which judgment has been hitherto suspended, and which offence Bothwell alleges to be pardoned by the King. Nevertheless this day the judgment is pronounced, and by open proclamation he is declared traitor and to be forfeited.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 581.)

allow ' pouer and malice to conspyre in craftye heads to your destructioun.'

Probably a copy, 15¾ pp. Vol. A, 116.

LIV

Bothwell to James VI.

[*c.* August 1591.]

He supplicates the King in ' these humble lynes,' not because he is guilty of the ' supposed and devysed crymes ' laid to his charge, but because he is confident of his Majesty's ' indifferent favour in tryell of my innocencie, quhilk now of lait hes bene smored and suppressed be the vyld suggestionis and calumneis of my adversares ' at the very time when he had turned himself to promote the service of the King and peace with England in the execution of his office.[1] But by the judgement of God this ' devilishe accusatioun ' has been devised to thwart him and to induce the King to seek his ruin. He is therefore forced to withdraw himself, not from his trial but from ' the iniquitie of tyme and vehemencie of that passioun that possessis that gratious hairt of youris.' [2] He begs the King to take his wife and children under the royal protection during his absence, and not to suffer them to be dispossessed ' by any extraordinare course of law ' ; [3] also to inform him how he may ' eschew the calumnyis ' of his enemies, and do

[1] He was Keeper of Liddesdale. At the beginning of 1591 a question of redress was at issue between him and Forster, the English Warden. (*Border Papers*, i. nos. 700, 701, 702.)

[2] Bothwell broke ward and escaped on 21 June, and on 1 July he ' sent a gentleman . . . to the King, with humble petition to accept his submission and offers, or to give commission to some of his Council to confer ' with him. (*C.S.P.*, x. 578, p. 533, 586.) This letter should probably be dated about the time of these ' offers.'

[3] Doom of forfeiture was pronounced against Bothwell ; and a proclamation issued on 25 June for a muster at Edinburgh on the 31st ' to pas furthwart with his Majestie for repressing of the tressonabill practizes of the said Frances.' (*P.C.*, iv. 644.) On 7 August the levy was countermanded, because he was ' now fugitive.' (*Ibid.*, 668.)

pleasing service to his Majesty. He is ' now in point to depairt ' wheresoever he may be sent or permitted to go.[1]

Copy, 1⅔ pp. Vol. B, 355.

Printed in *C.S.P.*, x. no. 607, p. 568, as a copy enclosed in a letter from Robert Bowes to Burghley, dated 2 September, and previously mentioned in a letter of 27 August.

LV

James VI. to Lady Arbella Stewart

23 December 1591.

Thoght the naturall band of bloode (my deare cousing) [2] be sufficient for the good intertenement of amitye, yet will I not absteane frome these comoun offices of letters, having now to long keped silence till your fame and report of so monye good partes in you have interpelled me. And as I can not bot in heart rejoys so can I not forbeare to signifye to you heirby what contentment I have receaved hearing of your so vertious behaviour, wherein I pray you most hairtlie to continew, not that I doubt thereof being certified of so full concurse of nature and nouriture, bot you may be the more encouraged to proceade in your vertious demeanour reaping the fruict of so honest estimation, to the encresse of your honour and joy of your kyndlie affected freindes, speciallie of me whom it pleaseth most to see so virtious and honorable syonns [3] aryse of that race whereof we have both our discent. Now knowing more certanlie the place of your abode I will the more frequently visite you be my letters, which I wald be glade to do in

[1] 'This letter Colonel Stewart brought to the King at Stirling at the request of the Countess of Bothwell : the King read the letter openly, that all the presence might know the contents and his evil acceptance thereof. He utterly refused to promise favour to the children or appoint any limits to Bothwell, but to leave him to his own course as his rebel whom he would pursue.' (*C.S.P.*, x. 606, p. 566 : report of Bowes to Burghley.)

[2] Lady Arbella Stewart was the only child of Charles, Earl of Lennox, younger brother of Darnley. The question of her marriage was important in view of her possible claim to the English throne.

[3] syonns=scions.

persone, expecting also to know from tyme to tyme of your estate be your owen hand, which I looke you will not wearie to do being first summonit be me and knowing how farre I shalbe pleasured thereby. In the meinquhyle to nixt occasion of forder knowledge of your state after my hartyest commendatiouns I wishe you from God, my right deare cousinge, all honour and hairtye contentment.

Halirudhous the xxiij[th] of December 1591.

Copy or draft, unsigned, 1 p. Vol. B, 462.

A shorter letter, undated, of a similar tenor, is printed as No. XVIII. in Miss Warrender's *Illustrations*. Also printed *C.S.P.*, x. no. 634.

LVI

James VI. to Elizabeth

3 January 1591-2.

Madame and dearest sister, upon the falling out of a late accident heir [1] I have taikin occasion to direct the bearer heirof, my servant, unto you, allswell to informe you of the haill procedings thairof as lykwayes to make you forseene whairin your aide may be profitable to me in this turne, which I neid not to sollist since I have at all tymes had suche proof thairof in all my adois not importing me so hyelie as this dois, whair-upon lyf honoure and all gois together. Because the particularis of this can not be discryvit but by discourse, thairfor I remitt thame to be delaited by this bearer,[2] whome of I maid choise for this earand, following the exemple of your last message, which forme I thought fittest to be used in thaise caces according as I wrott unto you in my last letter. And thus, Madame,

[1] The 'besetting of the abbey of Halyrudhous' by Bothwell and his accomplices on Monday night, 27 December 1591. (Calderwood, v. 140-141; Spottiswoode, ii. 417-418; see also following document.) What appears to be Elizabeth's reply to this letter is printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XLI (Camden Society). She chastised the King for having closed his eyes so long to the danger from Bothwell.

[2] Roger Ashton. He took back the above-mentioned reply of Elizabeth to James. (Cf. *C.S.P.*, x. no. 649.)

and dearest sister, I commit you to the protection and saifgaird of the Almightie. From my pallais of Holyrudhous the iii of Januarie 1591.

Your most loving and beholdin brother and cousin JAMES R.

Copy, ½ p. Vol. B, 403.

LVII

Instructions to Ambassador to the English Court

Halirudhous, 3 January 1591-2.

After ye have presented our hartyest commendations and letter to our darrest sister the Quene of Englande ye shall declaire that the unexpected accidentis fallin out heir of late (which we doubt not hath bene advertised to her no small wounder and greif) hes gevin occasion of your suddaine depeshe of whome we have thocht meit to mak choyse for the present as a privat and trustye messinger (imitating her owen example at some tymes) rather then to differ upon the imployment of a public officer.

The daingerouse and most treasonable attemptat,[1] the barbaritye whereof we abhorre to remember, never to be enough wounderit in all ages and posterities to cum with the haill forme and circumstances thairof, we remit to your awin trew relation as one who wes behoulder of so terrible a spectacle most likelye to have had that tragicall execution intendit, yf the good providence of God who continuallye watcheth over ws (wherof we shall never be unmyndefull) had not mightelye preserved ws.

Ye shall signifye to our darrest sister that efter deip consideratioun and serche made we have found out the

[1] A reference to Bothwell's attack upon Holyroodhouse on 27 December. Calderwood states that 'he and his complices came to the king's door, the queen's, and the chanceller's; at one tyme with fire to the king's doore, with hammers to the queen's doore.' The citizens were summoned to the rescue; but 'before they came, Bothwell and his complices escaped, all except sevin or eight, that were apprehended, and after hanged at the Croce.' (Calderwood, v. 140-141.)

ground and roote of these so cruell enterpryses to come frome the bloodye counsellis of the enemeyis to God, his trew Religion and to all Monarchies proffessing the same, who being allwayes led with one spreit ceases not daylie to stirre up thair suppostis and desperat ministers to essay the taking away of laufull Princes be all unlaufull meanes, wherein Sathan hes so far prevaled within the compasse of our awin aage as of late the same hath bene put in practize and some fearefull examples thairof in recent memorye. And that some of our maist unnaturall subjectis being led be the abhominable authour (who bewryeth him self guyltie of that sorcerye and witchecraft devised against our awin person) have bene more easalye entised being of the Spanishe faction, and hes adventured so farre in this lait enterpryse as to be burreaux[1] and executouris of thair cruell desseingis, animated thairto with no small houpe of gaine and commoditye, and thair avaritious hartes corrupted with large sowmes of money convoyed in this countrey to the same purpose of late. Whiche so divelishe practizes of subjectis shaking off thair othe and dew alledgeances thay awght to thair naturall Prince tendeth to no other end then to mak a cruell sacrifice of him and his trustye and weill affected counsalouris to the subversion of the trew religion, alteratioun of the present state, and mak therby a more ease conquesse of that realme[2] and consequentlye of the wholle.

Ye shall in lyke maner shaw our earnest cair and promptitude als weill in trying of the particuler persones enterprysers as of thair apprehensioun with sic others as ar suspect to be privye and upon the complot na lesse culpable then thame selfes and that na thing shalbe omitted whiche shalbe thought requesite to discover the holle conspiracye and to inflict conding punishment with all severitye to the authouris thairof.

For taking straict and speadye ordour with thir lait conspiracies and obviating to the lyke of a more dainger-

[1] burreaux=hangman. (*New English Dictionary.*)
[2] that realme=England,

ouse sequele we ar resolved to keepe a more watchefull eye and to enquyre more narrowlye in the actiouns of sic as ar randerit suspect; which geving occasion of our greater chairges so farre by our expectatioun, we are moved to have recourse onlye to the ayde of our darrest sister, and be you maist earnestlye to entreat her that so muche of the annuitye granted to ws may be presentlie advanced[1] and indelayedlye convoyed thether as may serve to enterteney some forces as a garde to our persone, and other companyes of horsemen to be imployit within the countrey as occasion shall offer. Not doubting bot our darrest sister shall have suche dew and honorable consideration of ws as will testifye her kyndlie love and affection (uttered from [tyme] to tyme heirtofore) now speciallie efter our happye deliverie of so great perrell and to shunne the lyke dainger in tyme cumming.

Althought we can not be induced to suspect that onye of our so unnaturall subjectis as hes bene guyltie ather in counsale or utherwayes of thir late odious attemptates shall ressave confort within the bowellis of that realme, ye shall desyre our darrest sister to geve strait command be proclamation or as it shall seame mast expedient, that yf onye of the saidis persones constranit be necessitye or voluntarlie have refuge or enter within onye pairt of her dominiouns thay be immediatlye apprehendit, deteanit, and, upon notice therof, geven to ws, and our requisitioun indelayedlye delivered; whiche being aggreable to the lawes of both the countreyes and lykwyise capitulated amangis the rest of the articles of the league and treatise of amitye and frendship betuixt ws, we doubt shalbe in

[1] On 24 December James sent a letter of grievance, complaining of Elizabeth's 'disdainfull delay' in paying his pension. 'If you thinke my frendshipe worthie that annuitie, remember, *qui cito dat bis dat.* Let not the circumstances of the giver disgrace the gifte, for I wearie to be a suter.' (*Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XL.) The Bothwell scare provided a new pretext to enforce his suit. It appears from a document among the Tytler transcripts in H.M. General Register House that a sum of £33,500 was 'paid out of the Receipte to the King of Scotts vse, from the year 1586 till 1594'; but a Hopetoun transcript (also preserved as above) seems to show that there was no 'speciall quantitie or certane ressaver.'

this case more cairefullye observed, and inviolablie kepit, the nature of so heynous a conspiracye being dewlye weyed, and the haill circumstances thairof kepit in memorye. Ye shall dilate and amplifie everie ane of thir foirsaid heades, as we have particularlye informed you. Be instant in urging your answer and returne with all expedition.

Copy, or draft, 2¾ pp. Vol. A, 107.

LVIII

Helene Guthreis admonitioun to the kingis Majestie

[? June 1592.]

In the name of the Father the Sonne and the Holie Ghost, I latt yow wit that our mightie Father of hewin hes bestowit the gift and grace of trew repentence upon me to latt yow to wit that ye abuse his godlie law and turnes not to amend; long delay ye make in turning. In the name of our hevinlie Father Master and Saviour Jesus of quhome I heff this toward ws all, in the name of God luike that ye be diligent to sett furthe that godlie law, and do ye be it, quhilk ye heff not done heirintill: Repent; turne in tyme; spend na mair tyme in vaine be mans wisdome. Think ye nocht on your hewinlie Father quha hes brocht yow from all ewill and estableshit yow in one gud place putting yow in that estate to the furthsett off his will and profeit quhilk ye do not yit? It is weil knawin be thame that is under yow. Take tent in tyme for ye far in the wrang. Thair is greit injureis done in this realme displeasis owerlang and oft. Yit ye ar sett under our ewirlasting Father to be judge righteous, calling all your inferiours under the feir of God to be at your command. It is maist knawen that they luif yow nocht, becawse thai tell yow not that the gud will of our mightie Father is abusit, as the Lord our gratious Father hes bestowit this knawledge on me his servand to latt yow wnderstand the will and lawes of our Saviour Christ is rigorouslie abusit and ther is no reverence nor obedience gewin to that godlie

word, quhilk should be more estemit then ony wardlie gud. And the Sabboth day quhilk the Lord blissed and commanded us to keip it expreslie, it is abusit vikitlie by [1] all uther wickednes and persevering therein, quhilk offendis our hewinlie Father. And [2] ther wer not ane supreme magistratt wnder God this wald not be mervelit, bot seing we heff ane prince under God, it is greit wrang and aganis the commandis of the Lord. Think ye not nor ye shall make rakning at the day of Judgement to the Lord God for that disobedience quhilk is done in all your dominiouns throche the outmast part therof for falt of justice? Aucht ye not to luike to the law of your mightie Father, and do after it: quhilk is not done. Ye will repent quhen ye may nocht mend it. Giff ye turne and mend, it shall not be put in memorie the tymes quhilk is bygone. Giff ye do not, think not that your realme shalbe at rest. Giff that ye turne and do the will of God and snyb [3] sik odious vyces that is done and then your realme shalbe at rest and the Lord shall blis it. O great is the unrightiousnes done in this realme and the charge lyis hevelie upon yow for the faltis that is committed aganis the law of God and Jesus Christ his onlie sone our lord. Giwe thankis and prayse continewallie to our hewinlie Father for this gud sing and takin towardis us all. I will pray yow in the name of the Lord to be thankfull, that ye wilbe vertesit [4] fra your ewill to your gud. Crawe wisdome knawledge and understanding that ye micht do the will of your hevinlie Father. Gif ther had bene guid counsale it had bene mendit in tyme many faltis bygane. Ye cam not heir bot to use righteousnes and to haitt wrangis and lowe justice. It is maist lyke that the law of God is not declarit to yow. Ewill it is abusit, alace alace therfoir, greving our hewinlie Father, quhilk we should trimble and quaik to offend his godlie Majestie. He hes provydit men to glorifie his halie name, to teiche utheris therin. It should not be warldlie things nor na thing upon this earthe, quhilk should gar ws blas-

[1] by=beyond.
[2] and=if.
[3] snyb=snib, to check.
[4] vertesit=converted.

pheme his holie name, quhilk is done our oft. It aucht to be your command to dill downe ewill and wrangs. And [1] we lukit rightlie, we should luke diligentlie to serwe our hewinlie Father that brocht ws from hell deathe and damnatioun, quhilk it is maist liklie that all gud is forzet, forzet it not. Remember agan ye hef no thing wnrecewid. Therfoir abuse not these gratious gifts free and liberall of his gratious will and free mercie without compulsioun. As we serwe presentlie, it is na marwell nor the lycht darkin for our wicked disobedience. Yit turne in tyme, spend na mair in vayne. It is all in vayne becawse it agreis not to our hevinlie Fatheris command. Increase and grow in ane halie and godlie conversatioun. Snyb away all ewill uses in your realme be your command and abuse not the gud gifts of God, becawse He hes bestowit free mercefull gifts upon us. Thairfoir bestow thame after his free gud will and pleasour. Sua far as it is not the gud will of God it is all in vayne. The word of God it should be reverenced abowe all things, quhilk it is not done. I direct this to yow in the name of God that after this advertesment ye may command office men to gang throw brughs and borrowtownes that the gud law and word of God get reverence mair and mair, or ellis your realme shall not be at rest. Giff ye do this in the name of God the gifts quhilk ye heff not received ye shall receive thame with diligence, all gifts that your mynd wald crawe at our hewinlie Father. Yit ye ar sett into this seatt to be the gadderer in of the floke and beild ther kirkis, not to spoilzie thame of ony thing wes provydit to thame, bot to gar ewerie man that hes wrang actiouns in hand restore thame to the right agan. Sir, if that ye do not this, be feared the wrathe of God shalbe powered upon yow quhen ye think to heiff quietnes. Feir God and do to his commandment, and feir nother lord laird nor na man. Bot and [1] ye be doand to the will of our mightie Father, ye neid not feare no man. Quhy stand ye aw of thame, bot gar thame stand aw of yow as thai aucht to do. Quhen ye ar fund so slawe to snibe thame for

[1] and=if.

wranges ye shalbe called for it quhen ye can not mend it. Wse better in tyme giff ye wald heff ane joyfull ring. Crawe that ye may do the same, and forthink that ye heff done so long ewill and vrang. It will newir be utherways wnto the tyme that the gud law of our hevinlie Father be mentenit mair and mair. Than quhen that godlie actioun is kepit all ewill will fle away. Als long at i: undone ewill will ewer mair continow. Latt not Sathan gett up his hand for he rases contentioun and ungodlienes. Go fordvard in Godis name with gud cawse pertlie and manfullie, quhilk no ewill can comprehendit it [*sic*]. I direct yow to the Father the Sone and the Holie Ghost. Do the same in Godis name. Latt nocht lychtie of this verteisment. Verelie verelie it is trew, giff ye do it not ye will rewe. Think not that this is storme. Prayse our mightie Father nyght and day and ewill tyd or tyme. Leid, abowe all, men to do the will of our hewinlie Father. O all my brotheris I recommandit yow to God the Father the Sone and the Holie Ghost. So beit. Sing prayse, sing prayse all peple on the earthe to our hevinlie Father; with one accord sing to our hevinlie king. I crawe at God for Christs saike make ws all in ane thankfull mynd that he may rejose in ws and we in him continowallie in this and in all the warild to come. Amen.

This letter wes presented be the foirsaid domoosell to the kingis majestie upon hir knees, being of xviij yeiris, duelling in Aberdene of base birthe and no reputatioun, yit called as apperis be God. Bot yit it wes bot letle regardit be the king. 1593.[1]

Copy, 1½ pp. Vol. B, 64v.

[1] Calderwood places this admonition at the end of June 1592. 'There come from Aberdeene a young woman, called Helene Guthrie, daughter to Johne Guthrie, sadler, to admonishe the king of his duetie. . . . She could find no rest till she came to the king. She presented a letter to him when he was going to see his hounds. After he had read a little of it he fell a laughing, that he could skarse stand on his feete, and swore [so] horriblie, that the woman could not spaire to reprove him. . . . She was sent to the queene, whom she found more courteous and humane. So great and manie were the enormiteis in the countrie, through impunitie

LIX

Copye of a Band dyted to me [1] by his Majesties self

[After 28 June 1592.]

We all and everye ane of ws undersubscryvand having deiplye considerit the great and imminent perrell of his Majesties our naturall soveranes persone and estate to the great dishonour of this haill natioun be notorious tratouris and rebelles quha daylie huntes for the same be all kynd of unlauchfull and quyet practizes, and persaving the estate of the trew religioun presentlie professed within this realme to be sa straitlie and inseparablie joyned with the weill of his Majesties persone and estate as the parelling of ather of thame caryis a like perrell to thame baith, quhilk hes moved the foirsaidis rebelles and tratouris to lein to the helpe of forreyn princes leagouris in monye and utherwayes for the better effectuating of thair divelishe intentions against the estate of religion and his Majesties persone to the utter decay within schort space of baith the ane and the other yf tymous remeid be not found. We thairfore and everie ane of ws upon the consideration of the premisses have thought it necessare and dewtifull unto ws as being a number of his Majesties best affected subjectis to joyne and unite our selfis together, like as be thir presentis we joyne and unite our selfis in ane, promitting faithfullie to wait on and concurre with his Majestie as we shalbe requyred as weill with our counsale and advyses as with our personall and actuall assistance, first for the establishing of justice and punishement of all vyces and enormityes in generall repugnant to the same, to the quyeting of this troubled and disordered commoun weill, and to the procuring of all dewtifull and reverent obedience to his Majestie throughe out the haill countrey, as becum-

and want of justice, that the mindes of simple and poore young weomen were disquietted, as yee may see ; but the king and court had deafe eares to the crying sinnes.' (Calderwood, v. 169.)

[1] Perhaps Chancellor Maitland.

mis lieges to do to thair soverane lord, and nixt in speciall for the repressing and dew punishement of the foirsaid rebelles and tratouris and all thair partakers fortefyers assisters resetters or weill willers that durst presume in sic pert and treasonable forme to cum and invaid his Majesties persone first in the Abbay and nixt at Falkland,[1] besydes monye other detestable practizes and mintes [2] quhilk God of his great mercye hes discovered and disappointed. And understanding perfytlie that a number of Jesuites and seminarye preistes and other practizing papistes [3] assistes thame with thair counsale and practizes asweill for the subversioun of the trew religion as for the perrilling of his Majesties persone and estate in respect of thair sa strait conjunctioun as is aforesaid, likewyis we faithfullye promitt to concurre to the rooting out of that pernitious sort of folk accompting thame in like balance with the other for the ressonis alreadye set doun. And for the better effectuating of this our godlye and honest purpose in all the poyntis above mentionat we faithfullye promese and be thir presentes oblissis ws never to have intelligence resset nor intercommoun with onye of his Majesties declared tratouris and rebelles, never anye ane or ma of ws to knaw of thair residence or passing by onye part unpersewing thame our

[1] The attack upon the Abbey was made on 27 December 1591 ; upon Falkland on 28 June 1592. This document was probably drawn up soon after the latter date, when the King was summoning the lieges to make a punitive expedition to Dumfries in pursuit of Bothwell and his abettors. (*P.C.*, iv. 762 ; *K.J.S.*, 250 ; Moysie, 94-95.)

[2] mintes=aims.

[3] Errol, Angus, Colonel Stewart, the Master of Gray, and other suspect characters were said to have been accomplices of Bothwell in the Raid of Falkland. (Spottiswoode, ii. 421 ; Calderwood, v. 167-168.) On 5 June 1592 an Act of Parliament had been passed 'againis Jesuites, Seminary Preistis, and thair Resettaris.' The ecclesiastical legislation of this Parliament 'has been called the Magna Charta of Scottish Presbyterianism. . . . The unanimous explanation of the contemporary chroniclers is that Chancellor Maitland had resolved upon it as a necessary piece of statesmanship, and was able to push it through by arguments derived from the wretched and anarchical condition of the country at the time.' (*P.C.*, iv. 748 n.–749 n.) Calderwood gives clear expression to this opinion (v. 162). The text of the Act is printed (*A.P.S.*, iii. p. 541).

selves for thair apprehensioun be all meanes possible yf sua we be of power for that present, and yf otherwayes als speadelye as may be to adverteis his Majestie or at leist sic other about him as may serve best for that erand, never to be a procurer nor suitter for ease or pardone to onye of thame at his Majesties hand except it be sua thought meit be his Majestie and sa monye of our number as shalbe with him for the tyme, and generallie never to spair nor oversie thame or onye of thame for kinne bloud allyie frendship or onye other wardlye respectis as we wald wishe that God and his Majestie his lieutenent should not oversye ws in anye our just and equitable causes, and in the premisses nather to spair our lyves freindis or gudeis or quhatsumever other particulare that may be a furder to the same. And in respect that particular grudgis and pickes amang our selves may be a hinder to this commoun service we likewyse faithfullye promese and be thir presentis faithfullye oblissis ws never to trouble or quarrell other for onye bypast respectis quhill first his Majesties tratouris and declared rebelles be utterlye repressed,[1] and that this present band and associatioun shall serve for a generall assurance to that effect, and in case that anye quarrelles or grudges shall fall out of new [2] efter the dait heirof [2] amangis anye of ws, we be thir presentis bindis our selfis to submitt the decisioun and aggrement of all they contraversyes to his Majestie and sa monye indifferent persones of our number as we can aggrie upon, promesing faithfullye never to reclame fra his and thair determinatioun and decisioun thairupon, [2] or utherwayis sall persew the samyn for decision of controversis befoir the jugeis competent therto as accordis of the law, quhilk forme of persut sall not be

[1] Measures for the oblivion of feuds would recommend themselves particularly to the Chancellor and King, if they were indeed the two devisers of this 'band.' Reconciliation of enemies was a favourite occupation of James, and Thirlestane was himself involved in faction. He was hated for his suspected complicity in the murder of Moray: and the great nobles were jealous of his political power. The 'band' never materialised, and the Chancellor was soon himself to fall a victim to private 'quarrelles or grudges.' See following document.

[2] Inserted in margin.

comptit nor estemit violation or brek of thir presentis or ony part therof.[1] And generallie we bind and oblisse our self inviolablie to keip and observe all and sindrye the premissis upon the paine of all hiest perjurye and defamatioun and upon the using and punishing of our body and guddes at his Majesties discretioun. Upon the other pairt it hes pleased his Majestie our soverayn in taken of his thankefull acceptance of this our humble offer and associatioun in his Majesties service to promese likewyse in the word of a prince be thir presentes to have a speciall and favorable regard unto ws in mainteaning of ws in all our just and honest actions, never to do onye thing in anye of his matters of estate in generall, nor in oursicht [2] or pardoning of anye of the foirsaid traitouris and rebelles in speciall without our publict advise and consent, and generallie to use our advise and counsale in all his grave and great affaires tending to the weill of his persone estate and countrey; for verefeing quhairof he hes subscryvit thir presentes with his awin hand.

Copy, 2⅔ pp. Vol. A, 343.

LX

Chancellor Maitland of Thirlestane to James VI.

[*c.* 9 September 1592.]

PLEIS YOUR MAJESTIE.

As your majesties constant favour hes alwais kythit maist effectuallie toward your hienes weill affectid servantis in thair absence, quharof nane hes had sa ample and frequent experience as I, sa hes it bein evidentlie sein and observit be many to haif maist gratiouslie appearid toward me of lait quhan nether craftie surmyses misreporte nor credit of quhasumever could caus your Majesties wontid maist gratious guid will seame diminischit or relentit in any sorte toward me, quhairfoir I am nocht able to yeald your hienes sufficient thankis, meikle les to contrevaill the

[1] Inserted in margin.

[2] oursicht=overlooking.

smallest pairt of your majesties favour besyd so mony benefites it hes pleisit your majeste bestow wpon me, quhairby, thocht I be forder obleisit, thair restis na mair to be requyrit in me then was mair than dewe and dedicat to your majestie of befoir. Gif thair be anything quhairin my graitfull hairt may appeir I shal do all my best indevour to wtter the sam besyd that I hope sum tyme to enregistrat to the posteritie your hienes vertewis and innumerable benefitis toward me, and thairby witnes in a pairt how I rest devoted and quhat zeale I haif alwais caryed to your majesteis service.

I man beseik your majestie nocht to misconsaif of me nor misconstrewe my absence [1] nor think that any thing may move me to faynt or wearye in your hienes service sa lang as the small thing I can do shalbe agreable to your majestie, gif I micht attend thair wpon as I was accoustomat without being as it war a wilfull murderer of my self and ane occasioun of your majesties perrell or dishonour, for (besyd that hir majestie hes apprehendet wtherwais of me thene God is my witnes I ever deservid, and rather or I sould gif hir hienes occasioun of miscontentment I had rather suffer the hardest relegatioun [2]) thair is wtheris to quhom I was best affected of any subject, quhom I maist honored and wald have professed only to haif servid wnder your majestie, quha ar stirred wp and sa incensed against me that nocht onlie thay can nocht be content I hald my former place of credite with your majestie bot ar movit to seik my wraik and do me the worst thay can. Howsomever it hes bein conciled and disgysit to your majestie, it is suffi-

[1] He retired from official life in August 1592. The reason of his eclipse seems to have been 'a combination against him for reasons of personal jealousy, fostered and made all-powerful for the moment by a private quarrel between him and the young Queen about some rights of property.' (*P.C.*, v. viii.)

[2] The more immediate cause of difference was over the lordship of Musselburgh. Spottiswoode writes that the Queen claimed 'the lordship of Musselburgh, as being a part of Dunfermline [her dower land], which she desired the chancellor to resign, for he had acquired an heritable right thereof at the making the act of annexation.' (ii. 424.) For the grants to Thirlestane, see *A.P.S.*, iii. *ad indices*.

cientlie knawin to a nomber of your hienes consallouris, and notoir aneuche to the cuntrey, quhat hes bein intendit aganst me. Gif your majestie will seriouslie inquyre some of the consall and straitlie examyne the parties [1] self wpon thair conscience, althocht the ane hes nocht bein plain to your majestie and the wther hes done quhat thay could to cover thair evill will, nether of thame I beleif shall deny the treuth, the ane quhat thay knaw, the wther quhat thay intend.

Sua I dout nocht your majestie will apprehend my perrell the mair deiplye and tak my absence in the better part. Gif my unfreindis were all sic to quhom I wald ather oppen my self or cleithe my self with a partie to withstand, I wald nocht behaif my self so calmelye bot defend me be your majesties favour and sic freindschip as I mycht procure. Bot for the reverence I awe to your hienes and the respect I carye to thame for your majesteis cause I haif chosin rather to absent my self then enter in competence or contention unseaming for me and to the prejudice of your majesteis service and estait; quhilk hes also moved my freindis to advyse me to craif a lycence, with your majesteis good favour and protectioun of my freindis leving and possessionis, to depairt the cuntrey [2] to sic tym as your majestie sould think convenient to call me again to your service, quhen your hienes shall alwais find sic zeale and promptitud in me as I haif ever caryed and shall wtter to my lyfis end. This advyse of my freindis I am moved (gif

[1] The two 'parties' whose identity is so obscurely hinted at may be the Duke of Lennox and the Master of Glammis. Lennox seems to be the person 'to quhom I was best affected of any subject, quhom I maist honored,' one 'neir to your majestie.' It is known that he was 'stirred wp' and 'incensed' against the Chancellor. Glammis, the Treasurer, was a confirmed rival of Thirlestane, whom he would have liked to supersede. (*P.C.*, v. ix.; and see references in *C.S.P.*, x.) They are both mentioned by Spottiswoode as 'heads' of the 'faction made at court against the chancellor' by the Queen. (ii. 424.)

[2] On 6 September Sir John Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, was appointed ambassador to France; but the commission never became effective, and there was also talk of sending him to England. (*C.S.P.*, x. nos. 748; 749, p. 773; nos. 753, 756.)

your majestie shall allow thairof) to embraice the mair willinglye that as nathing that shalbe machinat or attemptid aganis me, or may fall out in any sort, shall ather pervert or enchant me to inclyne to traysoun, rebellioun or factioun, bot as I haif alwayis hitherto onelie dependit upon your majesties guidwill and favour, sa shal I alwayis contenew in tym to cum, and nather seik any wther cours or lippin to quhat sumever futur event, bot your majesties onlie absolute pleasour and commandment. Gif your hienes sall think this my exyl thocht volonterie yit dishonorable to your majestie, I am content to continewe my residence in sic remot part from the court, quhair I may with your hienes favour and my awin suretie attend a convenient oportunitie be hir majesteis good lyking with out your majesties perrell, inquyatting of the estait, or juste greif of ony neir to your majestie, to be inployid as your hienes shall think expedient. Yit sen I man indure that hell to be privit of your majesteis presens, or as a Tantalus I war neir and yit debared from that I maist desyr, I had rather chose to be farther absent and thairby be voyd of all suspitioun of practyse and factioun, specially future contingentis far to the fall, quhilkis as I naturally abhorre, sa ar thay as far of as I wald nocht wis my short sicht or lyf sould reiche wnto, quhairin your majestie knawis my mynd and affectioun. Bot in ather of the premissis as in all wther thingis I remit me all togither to your hienes good pleasour and derectioun.

I man maist humlie heirwithall recommend to your majesties protectioun my Lord Secretare [1] your majesties awin creatuir quhom your majesties self callit, and nocht I nominat, to that place quhairin he hes greater affectioun and fidelitie to serve your majestie than abilitie to dischairge sik dewtie as the office requyris, quhilk I will accompt and will be esteimit of all men amangis innumerable utheris ane of the cheif indices of your hienes constant favour and

[1] Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, Secretary, 1591-1596, nephew of the Chancellor. According to Bowes, he was 'made Secretary by the commendation of the Chancellor, who resigned the office to him.' (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 555, p. 507.)

wnchaingable guid will toward me. Sua maist humblie kissing your majesties handis and wissing your hienes maist earnistlie of God in perfyt health a lang and happy regne with sic contentement in hart as I sall resaif contenewing in your majesties most gracious favour, as I sall alwais rest to my lyvis end being oblised.

Your majesties maist humble and maist faithfull devoted subject and servitour.

[*Endorsed*] Copye of my Lord Chancelloris letter to his majestie delivered the ix of September 1592.

Copy, unsigned and undated, 2½ pp. Vol. A, 57.

LXI

Elizabeth to James VI.

[26 November 1592.]

I would have written to you sooner, if misfortune had not so long prevented the messenger from delivering my letters. But now at last I have learned that you have not allowed yourself to be beguiled by the 'privie snares of your seeming freinds.' [1] I perceive that you do not forget that you were once before designed for a prey to the foreigner, who entices you with the promise of a kingdom which he cannot obtain, and which he would keep for himself if he could. I am glad that you have been too farsighted to be duped. 'My enemie can never doe himselfe more skaith then to will my guiltles wrack, who or now, himselfe knowes, hath preserved him his countries, who since hath sought mine. Such was his reward.' God preserve you from ever hazarding your own in the hope of gaining another's. 'When he hath win the entrie, you sall have least pairt of the victorie.' He, who has so often sought to subvert your subjects, is hardly likely to 'present

[1] The inventory of documents in the *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, shows that the English government was at this time kept well advertised of 'the present estate and occurrences in Scotland.' (ii. p. 616.) The Scoto-Spanish intrigues were causing considerable apprehension,

yow the best, and keipe the worst for himselfe.' Your course is obvious. Keep your own position secure. Seek not your own gain by the injury of others. Be wary: and attach to yourself only such ' as seiks not more youris then yow.' Do not trust any who can be bribed, or who have already betrayed their country. Weed them all out. I will reveal overtures that have lately been made to me, so that you may know who plot against your state, and so may entrap them and secure your kingdom. Inform me what more you would have me do; and in the meantime let no support be given in any circumstances to any of the Spanish faction. I say this for your sake; they are all equally indifferent to me, ' but I abhorre such as sett their countrie to saile.'

[*Endorsed*] Delivered be Master Bowes, December 4, 1592.

Copy, 1½ pp. Vol. B, 360.

Printed in *H.P.*, iv. p. 247, under date 26 November 1592; Miss Warrender's *Illustrations*, Letter XIII; Tytler ix., Appendix VII.

LXII

Remission to Robert Bruce

8 December 1592.

Ordanis ane remissioun to Robert Bruce[1] sone to umquhill Ninian Bruce brother germane to the Laird of Bynny for the treasonable treating consulting devising

[1] Bruce, with other ' Spanish traffickers,' was relaxed from the horn and received into the king's peace by the Privy Council on 10 March 1592-3. This act ' at such a date is puzzling; and there seems to be no mention of it elsewhere.' (*P.C.*, v. 53, 54 n.) See the article on ' Robert Bruce, Conspirator and Spy ' in the *Collected Essays* of T. G. Law. The author points out that Bruce was in communication with Burghley in August 1592, and that, ' in his new character of renegade and informer, [he] was thoroughly in earnest.' As a possible explanation of the change of sides, Law suggests that ' his eyes may have been opened . . . to the selfish and ambitious designs of the King of Spain '; that Bruce was unwilling to see a foreigner on the throne of England, and that he put patriotism before religion.

But a document (f. 212) among the Hopetoun transcripts in H.M. General Register House has a blacker tale to tell. The expression is sometimes cryptic but the purport is clear.

doing and conceling of quhatsumevir crymes of treassoun or lese-majestie aganis his hienes persoun estait or cuntrie;

The meaning of Robert Bruces remission disclosit be a missive letter send be him to a freind of his in Scotland.

Thanks the recipient for ' mony gude turnis ' in negotiating his remission, and presses him to bring ' that mater to a poynt, as a thing that will do me gretaist gude.' He reveals the explanation of his ' ernestnes,' not concealing ' ony thocht of my hart.' He continues: ' It is of veritie as ye write that the remissioun can serve me litle, having litle or na thing to tyne in Scotland, and als littill will to remane thair quhill I may use myself and my conscience at gretair libertie nor this tyme will yit suffer. Bot the intention of seking this remissioun is this. . . . Be Scotland we mon recover our losse and wyn our intent in England. And sen we can not haif the king thair as we wald and that force can not be oft assayed, policie and intelligence is neidfull. Intelligence can not be gottin except sum be given, and althocht I be a meane man, I am not ignorant quhat his halynes, the king catholik, and under him his excellence heir, yea and that quene hirself bestowis upoun intelligence. To hazard in a brother of the Society and seminaries in covert maner is nocht thoght gude presentlye. To be plane with yow I have na will my self to tak on me [sa] perillous a viage, bot hes moved to sum of auctoritie and credite heir that it suld serve to better purpos for our commoun cause to cast my selff lows, and schaw me as weryit of my lyff heir, and offer my service to the king to mak him intelligence of all designes and exploittes of the League and of the Scottis nobilmen and utheris alreddy won be aith and subscriptiouns to the catholik religion casing [*sic*] of this present Scottis court and persute of England; and in this respect to purchess his remissioun for all my bigane trafficquyng, quherin ye knaw I have not bene the slawest. My motioun is mervellously weill acceptit and at the first allowed, for it is thocht quhat inconvenient salbe to our cause to tell that sum of your young nobilitie superexpendit or to visite the well of Spa cum here to seke and get sumquhat, and for that to tak in hand to wyn the king and mak him ouris be fair meanis or foull, or, gif na better may be, to rid him out of the way, and to querrell and boist thay raling ministers mak reportis of thame disgrace them and gif thame sum uther thing to think of nor to louke narrowly in our procedingis. In the meantyme the remissioun being past in the termis that I instructit and having the greit seill of Scotland therupoun, quhilk ye sall send me packit in a buist with caddes about it [packed in a box in wool] als tentely as ye can. Be the sicht of it heir, at Rome and in Spane, it will appeir that the king is not utterly ane inemy to Catholikis bot may be won that he can forgive thame albeit thai haif trafficquit for subversioun and change of that hereticall religioun and for the distructioun of his awin lyff and of the lyff of the quene of England; for ye may not forzett thir poyntes, albeit my credite wes small to work ony of thame. And above all forzett not a speciall promise in the end *in verbo principis* that I sall not be inquirit

and siclike for the treasonable traffecquing with princes and straingeris of forrane nationes outwith this realme, and Jesuites, seminarie preistis and excommunicat personis within the samin, in ony tyme byegane for the alteratioun of the trew Religioun professit within this realme to the owerthraw of his hienes persoun and estait, and ressaving destributing of money and Spanis gold within this realme to the effect and for the caus forsaid ; and for quhatsumevir cryme of treassoun or uther haynous attemptattis committit be the said Robert to the inquietatioun of the civil estait and wrak of the trew Religioun presentlie professit ; and als for all treasonable interpryses contrar to his Majesteis

upoun ony that hes trafficqued with me in tyme bigane, for I had rather want the remissioun or I sa did, quhat offer or promise that ever I mak, for I want not his halynes dispensatioun to supplie that as ye knaw the custume and my promise wilbe sone forzett them. To be short, I say thay will esteme of the king as ane inconstant and able to be won with tyme, having catholikkis about him. And thai will not spair to present him with a pece of money to supplie his necessities quhen thai sall heir that he hes maist mister and that the quene of England growis slaw to pay hir annuitie. And gif he aggreis to this promise in the end of my remissioun thay wil juge of him as ane easy to be stentit [whose price will be easily found], and his counsellouris consentaris therto easy to be corrupit, and having found thame that far agetward will not spair to bestow largelie. Incaise the king wald stur at this promise our cousing John may get it subscrivit insteid of ane uther signature. And above all, remember to get sum ma subscriptionis nor the kingis and the thesauraris, albeit it be aganis the custim, and speciallie of the personis of gretaist auctoritie and credite that ar young and leist expert of the danger, offerand thame largely, to be deliverit in schort tyme, for ther subscriptionis will serve ws alsmekle as gif thai had subscrivit the counsell of Trent it selff. And for the compositioun of the remissioun, get it als gude chaip as ye may, sen we heir be report that sic thingis ar not deare with yow albeit the cryme be nevir sa greit. Bot quhat evir it cost, lett not the mater slip langar, and gif the soume be ony thing greit, Johne may get a precept amang uther thingis subscrivit to gif the same composition to him self or his brother Mr. Richard. Beside the use of my remissioun heir, the knawlege of it thair at hame will put the king in yll grace with all the precise hertikis and ther railing ministers. And it will breade sum jarre and querrell betuix the quene of England and the king and his counsellouris for being sa furthwart to grant pardoun to men that hes trafficquit for the distructioun of hir persoun and oblist himself be promise not to enquire of the same, quherin she will esteme him a very ydiot, or to have bene very evill counsallit and abusit. And all this sall serve to greit avancement to our common cause ; and my remissioun wilbe as weill pait for as ony bullis that evir come fra Rome.'

darrest sister the quein of Ingland hir realme and lieges in prejudice of our soverane lord ; and for all actioun penaltie cryme and offence that may follow thairupoun or be imputt to the said Robert in onywise therthrow ; and for all uther treassonis crymes transgressiones and offencis quhatsumevir committit be him in ony tyme byegane preceding the day and dait heirof : Like as our soverane lord *in verbo principis* be ther presentes declairis that the said Robert sall nevir be preissit nor compellit athir to accuis or divulgat ony persoun or personis giltie with him of the crymes foirsaidis or ony of thame, bot salbe his Majesteis frie subject in all tyme cuming etc. The viij of December 1592.

subscrevit etc.

Copy, ½ p. Vol. B, 72.

The Latin text of the remission is printed in *C.S.P.*, x. no. 781, p. 825.

LXIII

Cardinal Allen to the Catholics in England

12 December 1592.

I would to God that ' with an hundred deathes and lives of myne owne ' I could deliver you from ' the excessive troubles and paynes and perills ' of this time of extreme persecution.[1] On the other hand the knowledge ' of your notable patience, constancy and fruitfull laboures ' gives me comfort, and inspires the hope that we shall soon see

[1] With the revival of fear of Spain about 1590 went an increased persecution of Recusants. ' A proclamation against Jesuits and seminaries marked the autumn of 1591, and a series of special commissions for recusancy in the counties marked the ensuing winter, so that by 1592 matters were again at an extremity. . . . The question as to the lawfulness of attending the services was again being raised,' and the defections were many. These circumstances were the occasion for this letter.

' The rank and file of the sufferers were characterised by a beautiful piety and simple loyalty to Christ, whose service called them to their perilous task, and whose love supported them in misery and death.' (W. H. Frere, *History of English Church in Reigns of Elizabeth and James VI.*, 267-269.)

the end of our sufferings, and confusion brought upon 'the churches enemies.' Have no doubt 'that our adversaries iniquities are nowe in Godes sight neere accomplished and at the hight: one the contrary syde the nomber of our bretheren that are to suffer for his trueth is neere made upp and shortely to receive, not onely in the next, but in this worlde, the worthy fruites of their happie laboures.' God will not long suffer the wicked to oppress the just, nor tempt us more than we can bear. We are ashamed to sit here and see you fighting in 'so bloudy a combatt'; but such is God's will. Our turn may come in good time, and meanwhile we make 'continewall instance to God and man for some releife of your miseries.' I take this opportunity to 'require and advertise' you that are priests to 'use greate compassion and mercifullnes towardes such of the laity especially as for meere feare or savinge theire familye, wife and childeren from ruyn are so fare onely fallen as to come sometimes to their churches or be present at the time of their service. For though it be not lawfull to doe so muche, nor in it selfe any waye excusable, yet such necessity in that kinde of men maketh the offence lesse and more compassionable, yea and more easely by you to be absolved.' In all matters that do not come under definite rules 'you must use much wisedome and muche charity,' remembering that usually '*tutior est via misericordiae quam justiciae rigoris.*' On the other hand, look that 'you teache not nor defende that it is lawfull to communicate with the protestantes in their praiers or service or conventicles where they meete to minister their untrue sacramentes; for this is contrarye to the practice of the Churche and the holye doctores in all ages.' This is more than 'a positive lawe of the Churche,' which can be dispensed upon occasion; 'but it is denied of Godis owne eternall lawe, as by many evident argumentis I coulde convince.' The most learned divines in Rome support me in this opinion, and 'to make all sure,' I asked for the 'sentence' of the Pope,[1] 'who expresselie toulde me that to participate with the Protestantis either by prayinge with them or cominge to their Churches or service or such like was by no meanes lawfull or dispensable, but added withall, that such as of feare and weakenes or other temporall force or necessitie should doe it ought to be gently dealte withall and easely absolved, as before sayde. This is his Hollines expresse will and myne opinion, in which I referr all my lovinge fellowes to agree, *ut non sint in vobis schismata.*' I am willing to correspond at more length with any who may still be uneasy 'in the matter.'

[1] Clement VIII. He founded the Scots College at Rome in 1600.

Copy, 2¼ pp. Vol. B, 362.

Printed in *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen* (ed. T. F. Knox), No. CCIX. The printed letter contains a postscript which is lacking in this copy.

LXIV

The States-General of the Low Countries to James VI.

$\frac{16}{6}$ December 1592.

They have received from Denniston, the Conservator, the King's letter of 24 October, and have seen certain extracts of a like tenor from his Instructions. They have replied in writing; and are indebted to the King for his goodwill and care for the cause of their national preservation.

AU SERENISSIME ROY D'ESCOSSE.

Sire, Nous avons receu par les mains du Sieur Denistoun [1] Conservateur des Privileges de la nacion Escossoise trafficquant en ces pays la lettre quil a pleu a vostre Majeste nous

[1] Robert Denniston, a Court favourite, became Conservator in 1589, by royal influence, in opposition to the candidate of the Burghs. 'The King at the same time had strengthened his influence in the Staple affairs by appointing Deniston "our Agent in all our affairs within the same parts," so that from henceforth the Conservator was not only the servant of the Burghs, appointed for the guarding of their privileges, but also the King's Ambassador in the Low Countries.' He capitulated to the Burghs in 1591. (Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, 110-112; Davidson and Gray, *Scottish Staple at Veere*, 186-188.)

escrire, datee le xxiiij^e^ d'Octobre dernier, ensemble veu certains poincts, tirez de son Instruction, quil nous a aussy exhibez de mesme substance que ladicte lettre, sur lesquelz luy ayants faict et donné particuliere responce par escript, nous remercierons vostredicte Majeste par ceste seullement de sa tres sincere affection envers nous mesmes, du soing tres singulier qu' icelle faict paroistre de porter au maintenement de la cause commune de ces pays, bien, et conservation de nostre estat, dont nous demoeurerons a jamais ses tres obleigez. Priants aussy bien humblement que son plaisir royal soit d'y continuer, de nostre part nous rendrons tousjours paine a complaire vostredicte Majeste aultant que nous sera possible et l'estat de ces pays le pourra aulcunement permectre, et prierons le Createur, Sire, de maintenir le throsne de vostre Majeste en equité et justice, et la personne royale d'icelle en parfaicte santé treslongue et tresheureuse vie. De la Haye ce xvj^e^ de Decembre 1592. W. Roelsius v^t^.

De vostre Majeste bien humbles les Estatz Generaulz des Provinces Unyes du Pays Bas. Par ordonnance desdicts Estats.

AERSSENZ.

Roy D'Escosse. 1592.

Original, holograph, trace of seal, 1 p. Vol. B, 528.

LXV

Letter to the King his Majestie be Mr George Ker

[*c.* 5 February, 1592-3.]

Sire, Your Majestie hes understand of my declaracioun of the thrid and instant of this moneth [1] the haill plott of the eirand I caryit evin almaist the particularis in twa heidis. My lord justice clerk in your Majesties name hes

[1] Probably his second deposition on 5 February. See No. LXVII.

cravit mair ampell discours be my writt anentis the laird of Fyntreis pairt in this syne the particular conference betuix the noblemen and me. Quhilk is concerning my credite, it wes not infinite, consistit in that wes expectit be men and moyen frome Spayne for the advancement of the Catholique Religioun in this cuntrie as I declairit particularlie, and the concurrance of the noble men to furder the invasioun of England for the reciproque of thair pairt to Spayne. This far in this poynt I wes willit to declair that it suld be without prejudice of your Majesties titillis. The uther heid anentis this cuntrie thay douttit nocht to performe with your Majesties awin consent as thay said; nather wes thair ony bluid meanit, as I sall answer to God, unles thay had bene first invadit. As to the laird of Fyntrie, your Majestie may be assured he culd be na deillar in this turne being in warde as he was. Quhat he understude of utheris in it I knaw nocht. Quhat wes betuix him and me I pray your Majestie that I may obtene to conceale that unto the tyme I haif the honour to speik your Majestie selff. And this, Sir, to thir twa heidis. I thank your Majestie maist humlie for your assurance, albeit it is ane discourage the aversioun of your Majesties presence frome me, quhilk I trust your Majestie sall grant efterward. In the meintyme I pray your Majestie that my warde may be sum part enlarged under cawtioun within this town. I hope your Majestie will excuis this falt as the first that ever I committit aganis your Majestie. *Sit erranti medicina confessio.* That your Majestie may nocht rest unsatisfeit in ane poynt, it is trew I proponit the matter anis to the laird of Fyntrie. His answer was in effect: He was glaid M^r^ James Gordon had not maid him previe to it. He leit me not knaw that he understude farther. God preserve your Majestie. *Sic subscribitur.* Your Majesties humble subject,

GEORGE CAR.

Copy, 1 p. Vol. B, 71.

This document and No. LXVII are in the same hand, and belong to a collection of ecclesiastical documents. They are followed by two blank pages, the second of which is endorsed: 'Effairis of the Kirk.'

LXVI

Answers for the Lord Burgh, concerning Bothwell[1]

[*c.* 23 March 1592-3.]

Ve thanke most hairtelie oure dearest sister of her freindlie offer in this case and vishis her to considder if she have not als great neede to helpe to stay the Spaniarde from putting his foote in this cuntrey as ather in France or in any pairt of the Lou Cuntreis and to helpe to enable us for entretaining a sufficient number of gardes to be employed, a pairt of thaim upon the gairding of oure person,[2] having so many greaat men nou to be oure rebellis, a pairt of thaim to lye in suche pairtis of the cuntrey as thaise rebellis have

[1] Lord Burgh's letter of credence was dated 12 February, and was delivered on 16 March. (*Letters, Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XLVI.) He was sent on a special mission 'to be informed of things fallen out in Scotland and to be a witness of the procedure for remedy thereof.' (*H.P.*, iv. 296.) Compare the terms of his commission as given by Calderwood (v. 239); *Letters, Elizabeth and James VI.*, p. 79; Camden, *Annales*, 418; and in the *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, ii. pp. 625-626. Lord Burgh arrived in Edinburgh on 24 February, while the King was absent on his northern expedition against the Catholic rebels. He 'was outwardly pursuing them with great severity; but it was universally believed that it was his real intention to screen them from adequate punishment.' (*Letters, Elizabeth and James VI.*, p. 79; Tytler, ix. 76.)

[2] After the discovery of the Spanish Plot, 'a guid numer' of nobles, barons and burgesses, 'be thameselffis and divers of the ministrie in thair names' offered a voluntary subsidy to the King for the support 'of a ressonable force of horsmen and fuitman for his Gaird, and the better to prosequite the resolutioun of his Henes and his Counsale aganis the said conspiratouris and thair partakeris.' (*P.C.*, v. 55.) The first mention of the formation of a King's Guard is in 1582. In 1584 it was enacted that the King should have a guard of forty men with a salary of £200, to be provided from ecclesiastical revenues. That the measure was largely ineffective may be gathered from the decreet of the Lords of Council and Session on 28 November 1595, which stated that his Majesty was 'myndit to uplift ane gaird for awaiting on his hienes persoun, and that the same be interteneit be the saides [monks'] portiones conforme to the meaning of the said act.' (*MS. Books of Sederunt*; *A.P.S.*, iii. 298, 328, 413.) Cf. various references to a Guard in *C.S.P.*, x.

greattest freindship in, both for repressing thaire insolence in kace thay volde make any sturr, as lykevayes to take up thair levingis according to her freindlie advyce, and the thridd pairt of these guardis continuallie to be emploied in hunting out of the conspiratouris and the quhole number to be employed to resist als farr as in thaim lay to the landing of any forrain forces in kaice thay came; and quhat my particulaire desyre heirin is I shall make her with all speede to be certified by one of my ouin.[1]

Ve pray her earnistlie to follou furth the deu punishment of suche as have plainlie ressett Bothuell as she tenderis her ouin honoure, my contentment, and as the ingratitude touardis me of these base myndit fellouis dois deserve, quhairof we have at lairge informed you by oure ouin mouth, and touching that vyle man him self as his foule offencis touardis me are inpardonabil and most to be abhorred for exemples sayke by all souvereigne princes, so ve most earnistlie praye her to deliver him inkaice he have refudge any more vithin any pairt of her dominionis, praying you to informe her plainly that if he be ressett or confortit hearafter in any pairt of her cuntrey I can no longer keepe amitie with her but by the contrair vill be enforcid to joyne in freindschipp with her greattest ennemies for my ouin safetie.[2]

Holograph, apparently a draft, 1 p. Vol. B, 401.

Quoted in Tytler, ix. p. 77. It forms the substance of paragraphs 7 and 8 of the answer of 'The King of Scotland to the Queen.' (*H.P.*, iv. 296.)

[1] On 7 June, 'Sir Robert Melville went in ambassage to the Queen of England, with an answere in writt to the last ambassader's articles, and to receave the king's annuity; to crave Bothwell to be delivered, and aide to persue the rebells.' (Calderwood, v. 253.) See following document.

At this point a pen stroke draws a line across the page, separating the two points of the King's 'answers.'

[2] 'This spirited remonstrance was not out of place; for at this moment Elizabeth, pursuing her old policy of weakening Scotland, by destroying its tranquillity and keeping up its internal commotions, was encouraging Bothwell to a new and more desperate attempt against the king and his government. Lord Burgh had received secret instructions to entertain this fierce and lawless man.' (Tytler, ix. 77-78, quoting MSS. authorities in State Paper Office. Cf. *C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. p. 626.)

LXVII

Depositions of Fintry and Mr George Ker

February 1592-3.

Alwayes to the end that your Majestie have the proof that I put al in your Majesties handes, the thing I knaw without farther I will declare unto your Majestie craving maist humblie your Majestie your pardon. This purpose wes set doun be Maister William Creychtoun [1] and send hame heir that sum discreit persone micht be directit bak with ane commission and blankis and sic thingis as wer requested for the performance of sic ane purpose. Sa Sir James Chesholme [2] suld haif gaine, but not being reddy Mr George Ker [3] beand furth of the cuntrey gat the imployment

[1] William Crichton, a Scottish Jesuit, at this time resident in Spain, was the principal promoter of the Spanish Plot. See the summary in *P.C.*, v. 35 n. and his biography in *D.N.B.* A MS. volume of *Scottish Historical Miscellanies*, in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, contains an interesting statement about his activities in this connection (p. 39). The project of the Spanish Blanks (so the narrative runs) 'was first hatched by the Jesuites and chieflie by father Crightoun, who, for some discontentment had, few yearis befoire, left Scotland and fled into Spaine: where he endeavoured to insinuate himselfe into King Philip his favour, and publisched a book concerning the genealogie of his daughter, the Infant, maried to the Archduke; wherein he did his best to prove that the two Crowns of England and Scotland did apperteine unto her; and, that this cunning Jesuite might the rather move King Philip to make warr against the King of Scotland, he wryteth books and pamphlets in the disgrace of his own native prince.'

[2] Sir James Chisholm of Dundorn, one of the Masters of the King's Household. He was nephew of William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane and Vaison. Cf. No. X.

[3] George Ker, Doctor of Laws, brother of Mark Ker, Lord Newbattle. He had been excommunicated for refusing to conform to presbyterianism after the act of 1592; 'and he considdering that heirby he could have na quyet residence within his native cuntrie, deliberat to pas beyond sea.' (*K.J.S.*, 256-257.) He was apprehended on 27 December at the Isle of Cumbrae by the efforts of Mr. Andrew Knox, minister at Paisley, and was conveyed to Edinburgh. (Spottiswoode, ii. 425; Calderwood, v. 192.) According to Moysie he confessed under torture of the boot, which was applied by the King's order. (*Memoirs*, 100.) He escaped from Edinburgh Castle on 21 June. (Calderwood, v. 254.)

in that eirand. And sa wes directit with the blankis to haif bene fillit thair, at the discretioun of Mr William Creychtoun, with quhat particular conditionnis, as God sall juge me, I knaw not. But sic ane number of men suld haif cumin and sik ane quantitie of money gif thay wer obtenit, His Majestie his ryt and titill suld na way haif bein harmit, libertie of conscience suld haif bein cravit. And this is all I knaw in this erand sa far as I remember. Quhome fra the blankis suld haif bein is knawin be the nobill men. Thair names and quhat farther in particular I remember nocht. *Sic subscribitur.* FYNTRIE.[1]

13 Februarij 1592

David Grahame of Fintrie, sworne and examinat in presens of the justice clerk [2] Mr. David Lyndsay [3] Mr Robert Bruce and Mr Williame Hart justice deputt, deponis upon his conscience that Mr Robert Abercrumby [4] wes the first that ever delt with him in this turne, quhilk wes aight or nyne monethis syne in Dunfermling. The howse he rememberis nocht. It wes proponit to him be Mr Robert. The proposition wes that in effect quhilk he has set doun in his letter under his awin handwritt and subscripciun. That

[1] This letter is printed by Calderwood, v. 230-231. Calderwood has had access to the depositions of Fintrie and Ker, which he summarises pp. 224 *et seq.* He also prints the text of the intercepted letters.

Sir David Graham of Fintry was executed for treason on 15 February. 'The hurried execution of this minor member of the Roman Catholic conspiracy was nearly all that was to be conceded to the cry for vengeance.' (*P.C.*, v. 42 n.) The *Historie of King James the Sext* states that the jury 'referrit him over to the King, wha immediatlie commandit him to be beheadit' (p. 268).

[2] Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston. He was rewarded with the escheat of Chisholm 'for his pains in the discovery' of the Spanish Blanks. (*P.C.*, v. 43.)

[3] Minister of Leith.

[4] A Scottish Jesuit, 'father brother to the Laird of Murthlie.' (Calderwood, v. 236.) See his biography in *D.N.B.* He is said to have received Queen Anne into the Catholic Church about the year 1600. (Bellesheim, trans. D. O. Hunter Blair, *History of Catholic Church of Scotland*, iii. 347 and n.; documents in Appendix V.)

Mr Robert departit from him to Mr James Gordoun[1] quha had ressavit the letters fra Mr Wa. Creychtoun. That Mr Robertis commonding with him wes to knaw of him quhat lyking he had of the purpose contenit in the letters; quharunto his answer wes that it wes ane purpose of heiche consequence and dangerous to be attemptid heir. That syndrie tymes sensyne he hes met with Mr Robert, namelie in the castell of Sterling befoir Mr George Kerrs preparacioun to this journey. His purpose with him wes as of befoir, and declairit to him that Mr George wes to depart and cary with him all this message, quhairof for his awin part he thocht ever then as of before. He resavit na letters in the castell fra Mr James Gordoun. That the letters he brunt in the castell of Sterling wer na letters of consequence bot particular letters. That the effect of Mr Robertis conference with him wes anent the sending of commission and blankis to Spayne. That the commissioun suld have bein gevin to Mr George Ker to cause fill the blankis according to Mr William Creychtoun his advyse. That the blankis at that tyme wer to be obtenit of the Erles of Angus Huntlie and Erroll. That he knawis nocht how mony sortis of blankis thair wer nor quhair nor be quhome they wer obtenit. *Sic subscribitur.* FYNTRE.

At Edinburgh the xiij day of Februar 1592

David Grahame of Fintrie being sworne be his great ayth and examinat in presence of Sir John Cokburne of Ormesoun knycht justice clerk. Mr Wa Hart of Levisland justice deput Nicoll Vdwart provost of Edinburgh David Williamesone ane of the baillies thairof declairis upoun his conscience that the first knawlege he had of this purpose set doun in his letter wes be Mr William Creightouns letters quhilkis wer shawin to him be Mr Robert Abircrumby at Abirnethie in the moneth of Aprill last was, quhilkis letters wer sent be the said Mr William to Mr James Gordon, the contentis quhairof wer that sum discreit gentylmen suld be directit toward

[1] A Jesuit, uncle of the Earl of Huntly. He played an active part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the time. See *D.N.B.*

Spayne with letters and blankis to be fillit up thair as suld be accordit betwix thais quha wer thair and thame quhom with thay had to dele, to the end that mutuallie it micht be knawin quhat ather suld luik for of utheris. And for this effect it wes anis thocht meittest that Sir James Chisholme suld haif gone thair in respect he wes always bound towardis his uncle.[1] Bot nocht being abill to be sa sone reddy and Mr. George Ker being bown out of the cuntrey, it wes thocht best that he suld undertak the carying of the saidis letters. Mr Robert Abercrumby wes the cheiffest man quha travellit to obtene blankis; quhilkis with sic uthir letters as he had wer delyverit to the said Mr. George to be fillit up at the advyse of Mr. William Creichtoun and Mr James Tyrie quha wer best acquaintit with the effairis thair. The cheiffest thing I understand they had to seik wes money. And gif any men came, that his Majesties persone and estat suld nawayis be prejugit of his hienes titillis and richt ather heir or in Ingland, bot that libertie of conscience suld haif bene cravit without interess or harme of ony persone. And that the landing of the men wes thocht most commodious to be in the west seyis becaws of the commoditie of the portis; quha suld haif bein desyrit to haif cum in the latter end of this yeir incais thay had aggreit upon sic articlis as thay had to intreit of, the particularis quhairof onlie the Jesuistes thair wer previe unto. And declairis that the letter writin at the end *Henrie Gilbert*, direct to Mr. Robert Balfour, is his awin letter delyverit be him to Charlie Mwrray servand to Mr. George Ker within the castell of Sterling in November last was; and that the mentioun of George Makkessoun thairin is Mr. George Ker, and James Gudman is Mr James Gordoun, that Thomas Forbes is ane gentill manis sone in Buchan. And thairefter declairis that this Thomas Forbes is his awin name.

Declairis that this clawse in the letter, to wit *gif possibillie without greit inconvenient it wald haif bene done*, quhilk ye will easely understand be this berer.

[1] William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane.

Declairis that the name of Gabriel Grundesoun is my lord of Glasgw.

Declairis that Mr James Balfour is ane Mr James Kyd ane doctor in Tullois or Burdeaux.

Declairis that the aggreance betux Williame Craig is Mr. William Creichtoun and Bartill Bailzie is Robert Bruce.[1]

Declairis that Mr Robert Abercrumby lute him sie in the castell of Sterling the blankis quhilkis Huntlie Angus Erroll and Auchindoun [2] had subscryvit lyk as Sir James Chisholme declairit to him that he had delt with the erlis of Huntly and Erroll.

Being inquyrit quhat uther nobill men and utheris asweill Catholikis as of our religioun by the former above writtin wer previe and upon the counsall of this purpose, declairis that he knawis of na man. *Sic subscribitur.*

FYNTRIE.

At Edinburgh xiiij day of Feb. 1592

The said David Grahame of Fintrie declaris that the erle of Angus wes callit Williame Achesone, the erle of Erroll callit Fergus Adame, and the erle of Huntlie callit George Harwye be thair twnames.[3]

Declairis that he knawis na uther nobilmen to hayf bein upon this purpose nowther catholikis malecontentis nor of the religioun.

[1] Robert Bruce, political agent and spy, whose remission was granted on 8 December 1592. (No. LXII.)

[2] Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, and uncle of the Earl of Huntly. (See *P.C.*, v. *ad indices.*) Of these four, Angus was apprehended in Edinburgh and warded, but escaped from the Castle on 13 February. The other three were charged to appear before the King in Council at St. Andrews on 5 February, but failed to compear and were denounced rebels. (Calderwood, v. 219; *P.C.*, v. 38 n., 39, 42.) On 17 February the King set out on a punitive expedition to the north, but returned on 13 March, having effected 'little or nothing.' (Calderwood, v. 232, 238; *H.J.S.*, 268.)

[3] 'A name added, for the sake of distinction, to one's surname; or used instead of it.' Used to differentiate between persons of the same name and surname. (Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*; cf. *New English Dictionary.*) Here it denotes an assumed name, adopted for purpose of disguise.

14 February 1592

David Grahame of Fintrie sworne and reexaminat [1] in presens of the justice clerk and Mr William Hart justice deputt deponis apon his conscience that he sall declair the trewth sa far as he knawis in every thing that salbe inquyrit of him. And upon his ayth and protestacioun before God declaris that he knawis nocht the nwmber of Spanyeartis suld haif cum heir to haif gane in England.

That the army suld haif cum heir in the hynderend of this present yeir 1592.[2]

That thair cuming suld haif bene aggreit upon in Spayne upon the sicht of the blankis, quhilk suld haif bene the pledges and seuerteis for the subscryweris partis at thair landing heir to haif bene alwayis filled at the directioun and advyse of Mr William Creychtoun.

That he knawis na uther nobill men trysted to meit thame at their landing bot the subscryveris.

He knawis of na fortes to haif bene buildit thair for preservatioun of thair shipping.

That of the army thair suld remaint heir foure or fywe thowsand.

That the army suld haif tane in to England the neirrest way fra thair landing to the bordour.

That thair purpose thair wes to haif revengit the Quein of Scotlandis death and thair awin particularis.

That be the nwmber to haif bene left behind the alteration of religioun presentlie professit or at the leist libertie of conscience suld haif bene ettillit to.

That to this effect thay suld haif send to his Majestie to haif procurit his favour and consent unto it.

That he knawis nane that suld haif met thame to haif accompanyed thame save the noble men subscryveris.

That incais thair sute to his Majestie had bein refusit, quhat suld haif ensewit he knawis nocht as he will answer

[1] Calderwood says that although Fintry's first confession 'was sufficient for his convictioun, the king would have him to be re-examined, and threatned with the torments of the bootes.' (v. 223.)

[2] That is, in the spring of 1593, according to modern computation.

to God. Nather knawis he quhair this army suld haif remaint nor how lang.

That Thomas Forbes is him self as he sall answer to God.

That Petersone was Mr Edmound Hay.[1]

That Mr. Robert Abircrumby schew him the haill blankis in Stirling and declairit to him that he wes to delyver thame to Mr George Ker to be caryit be him to Mr William Creichton to haif bene fillit with quhat sumever suld haif bene capitulat and aggreit upon betux the King of Spayne and him for the sending heir of men and money.

That being in Sterling he resavit ane letter fra the erle of Angus bot nathing to this purpose. Farther in this purpose he knawis nocht, as God sall judge him in the latter day. *Sic subscribitur.*

FYNTRIE.

To be inquyrit at the Laird of Fyntrie

Quhat nwmber of Spanyeartis sould haif cum heir to haif gane in England.

Quher sould thay haif cumin.

Sould thay haif come quheder the blankis had beine send over or nocht or rested thair cuming upon the sending of the blankis.

Quhat noble men had trysted to meit thame at thair landing.

Quhair and how mony fortes suld thay haif buildit for preservatioun of thair schipping quhen thay suld haif cum fordwart.

How mony of the army suld haif remanit heir.

Quhat way suld the greit army haif tane into England.

Quhat wes thair purpose thair.

Quhat nwmber of Scottismen wes promised to accompany thame.

Quhat wes intendit be the nwmber left behind gif thay suld haif send or addrest thame selfis to the King.

Quhat suld haif bene thair sute.

[1] Edmund Hay, Scottish Jesuit. His biography appears in *D.N.B.*

Quhat incais of refuise.

Quha suld haif assisted thame within this realme.

Quhair suld thay haif remanit.

How lang suld thay haif rested heir.

Quha is yit Thomas Forbes of quhais constancy he restis assured.

Quha is Pyper . . . etc.

3 Februarij 1592

Mr George Ker sworne and examinat in presens of my lord justice clerk and Mr George Young deponis that Mr William Creichtoun quha hes remanit this twa yeir bygane in Spayne directit hame in Marche last ane gentilman callit Gordoun to Mr James Gordoun with letters to let thame understand quhat travell Mr William had tane with the King of Spayne sen his remanyng, and that the King had opynnit to him that he had bene dissavit be Englischmen and wald fra that furth embrace the advyse and way that the said Mr William wald schaw him baith for invading of England and altering of the religioun within this realme. And for that purpose the said Mr Williame cravit be the said gentilman samony blankis and procuratiounis as culd be had of nobilmen for the assurance of his traffik ; quhilkis wer obtenit and delyverit be maister James to the deponer. That Mr William assured for the King of Spaynis parte that ane puissant army suld be send aganis England this nixt spring. And that first money suld haif bene sent within this realme. And of that army ane certane nwmber suld haif remanit heir, quhilk suld haif bene supplyid with forces that suld haif bene tane up with the said money. That the nobilmen subscryveris of the blankis suld reciproquely haif assisted the army gangand in England be all the forces they culd procure upon the King of Spayngis charges, and to the forces that wer to be left within this cuntrie thay suld haif joynit thame selfis with als greit power as the sylver gevin thame wald extend to.

Their landing suld haif bene ather at Kirkcudbricht or in Clyde according to the opportunitie of wynd. The

army suld haif bene of threttie thowsand men, off the quhilkis four or fywe thowsand to haif remanit heir. The armyis intentioun wes to haif gane in England. That the army suld haif bene met at thair landing with the nobilmen subscryveris. That at thair landing the nobilmen suld haif craveit at his Majestie the reformatioun of the present forme of religioun and erectur of papistry. That the fywe thowsand that suld haif remanit heir suld haif begun immediatlie to the reformatioun be the assistence of the said noblemen and utheris catholiques that wer lippinit to joyne with thame.

That at his ganging to Strabogy he proponit first the blankis to the erle of Huntlie ; and at the last parliament [1] the uther blankis in Frenche wer procurit of the uther twa nobilmen subscryveris. And there uther two subscryvit in Latyne wer obtenit in October in Edinburgh. The Latyne blankis procurit be Mr Robert Abircrumby, the Frenche be .

That the twa subscryvit be all four wer first subscryvit be the erle of Huntly in October last and be the laird of Auchendoun and send to the uther twa nobill men be Mr Robert Abercumby quho procurit thair subscriptiounis. The single blankis suld haif bene fillit with missive letters, the uther twa procuratiounis be the advyse of Mr Williame . That his credite fra the erle of Huntlie he resavit be Mr James. The credite fra the uther twa he resavit fra the nobill men thame selfis heir at Edinburgh about the begyning of October last, quhilk wes that they sould assist the army that gaid in England with all the power they culd mak of horsemen, to fortifie sic as wer left behind to the subversioun of the religioun presentlie professit and erecture of papistry.

That quhat ellis he hes delt with the erlis subscryvearis, with Fyntrie or ony uther he sall declair it at greit lenth to his Majesties his self. *Sic subscribitur.*

GEORGE CAR.

[1] In June 1592. It was this Parliament that established Presbyterianism amidst a vast amount of miscellaneous business.

5 Februarii 1592

Mr George Ker sworne and reexaminat in presens of the laird of Ormestoun justice clerk and Mr Williame Hart justice depute deponis upon his trewth and conscience that he resavit the deponit credit fra the nobilmen thame selfis quhen he spak with thame last. That the twa blankis subscryvit be all four suld haif bene filled with quhatsumever suld haif bene thocht meit be Mr Williame Creichtoun for the avowance of that he had in directioun and credite of the subscryveris. That he knawis nothing of the nobilmenis intensioun at the raid of Falkland as he shall answer to God. That the thre noblemen subscryveris tuik upon thame and interponit thair handis for the haill Catholiques concurrance in this caus, and thocht it meit amang thame selfis that for the better securitie nane uther suld be craveit bot tha thrie. That the credite delyverit to him he sall explane be his discours in writt to be sent down to his Majestie at efter none. That he knew na uther persone upon this party bot the noblemen subscryveris. That quhar the army suld haif landit they suld haif intrencheit thame selfis and maid thame sure baith for thair shippis and for thame selfis. *Sic subscribitur.*

GEORGE CAR.

6 Februarii 1592

Mr George Ker sworne and reexaminat deponis that at his last speking with Fyntrie in the castell of Sterling he requirit of him gif he knew ony thing of the letters ressavit be Mr James Gordoun for Mr Williame Creichtoun. His answer wes that he knew nathing.

Inquirit be him agane gif he wes nocht previe to his dealing with the noble men, he answerit, not ; and that he wes glaid that Mr. James obscurit it frome him. Further he entred never with him anent his erandis.

That he entert in this town about the parliament with Sir James Chesholm anent this erand, quha obtenit in thair awin ludgeingis the Frenche blankis fra the erles of Angus and Erroll. That Sir James had the first credite of that

errand with thame. That the blankis wer procurit at the parliament, the credite resavit thairof be the deponeris fra the saidis twa noble men thame selfis in October; that he suted not the erle of Anguiss letter him self bot committit it to Mr Robert Abercrumby quha brocht it unto him.

That the noblemenis credite quhilk he resavit wes ane assurance of the noblemen subscryveris that thay suld meit the army at thair landing, that thay suld rais ane power of horsemen for the convoying of it to England, and be thame selfis and thair freindis suld assist the nwmber that suld be left behind to the subversioun of Religion within this realme. That he knawis nocht perfytelie quha ar the wrytaris of the letters subscryvit be Henrie Gilbert and Johne Cargillis. That the letteris in Italiane wes reportit to him be Mr Robert Abercrumby to be ane Inglische manis. That in October last he wes with Sir James Chesholme in his awin hows, and thair conferred and intercommoned with him anent the haill heidis of this dispesche. That he knawis nane uther deillaris in this purpose, as he sall answer to God, bot the noblemen subscryveris, the Jesuites, Sir James Chesholme and him self. *Sic subscribitur.* GEORGE CAR.

Copy, 6⅓ pp. Vol. B, 67.

LXVIII

Bothwell to Mr Patrick Galloway

To my loving brother Mr Patrick Galloway, minister unto his Majestie

12 April 1593.

Recht traist freind, eftir my hairtly commendatioun, althocht sindri hard reportis of your severitie aganis me hes cum to my earis, specially that ye have affirmit from pulpit that ye wald tak it on your conscience at my cumming to th'abbay I socht derecly the King my soveranis lyff, yit estiming sic speachis to have procedit rather upon ill will

to yow nor upon ony guid grund I can not bot as a chyld wnto his father lay my deplorable estait oppin wnto yow and to seik confort as at a speciall servand of God, hoping that as his devyne majestie hes dotet yow with giftis of utterance and lerning above utheris so hes He indewit yow with compassioun and pitie proportionall thairunto. It is not unknawin wnto yow how I am maid odious baith at hame and afeild for seiking to distroy my soverane by wichtcraft, a matter so craftely contryvit, so impudently affirmit, so partially prosecuted and sa folischely belevit of many as is wonderfull, for nether is thair probabilitie nor necessitie to argue my giltnes in that point, for of all that was subornit to speik so sklanderosly of me only ane vz. Riche Grahame went to deith with constant affirmatioun aganis me, and yit I laik not attentick instrumentis to prove that at sindry tyms eftir his imprisonment he confessit that he was forcit to sklander me upon hoip of his awin lyff, and sum of the selff same personis that brocht him to executioun sall, God villing, sum day be my witnesses to testifie that they thair selffis assewrit him he sould not die at all at that tym bot that he was brocht out purposlie to confirme the peple in ane evill opinioun aganis me and thairfoir he was desyrit to speik pertly as if he haid no hoip of lyff at all. And for probabilitie, quhat apperance can thair be that I sould seik his majesties distructioun, seing thairby nether to me nor myne can ony present or future honour or profit redound. Can ony man be sa woyd of ressoun as to think that, nane of thir respectis serving my turne, I sould be sa desperat? Is it not evident that nether I nor nane of my name neidis to luik for favour of the hous of Hamiltoun, mair nor the hous off Lennox gat in the tym of the said Hamiltons governiment,[1] specially seing the chancelar the authour of my calamiti and pest of the name of Stewart hes no les credeit with them nor with his majesties selff, althocht that matter be werry cuningly disgysit from his majesties knawlege. And for my lord

[1] A reference to the feud between Lennox and Arran during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots.

duik, quhat can I exspect bot the worst of him, for althocht baith blood and many uther respectis urgis him to sum kyndnes, yit I find no thing bot all extremitie at his handis, as the possessing of my leving and daylie persuit of my lyff evidently declairis.[1] Be theis argumentis except men wald think me bereft of my wit I can nocht be jugdit a ennemie to my soveranis lyff, for sa lang as his hienes levis I have sum hoip that ether be my guid behaviour, be his naturall humanitie, better informatioun, or removing of my ennemeis from about him his grace may be inducit to swm commiseratioun, bot be anis decaying I am forevir depryvit of all hoip. Bot to mak my innocencie in this point and obedience to the Kirk the moir clere, as I have oft heirtofoir, so do I now wnto yow offer that I sall enter to the ministeris hous in Edinburgh in the maist humile forme they can prescryve to suffer as I salbe found innocent or gilty in the said crym of wichtcraft upon thir conditions following.

That na uther crym be layd to my charge bot that only.

That I may have a condingne assyse of my peiris according to the lovabill custome of this realme.

That na actis maid sen my captivitie have strenth or place aganis me seing they war expreslie maid to my prejudice.

As to my uther interpryses at the Abbay and Falkland I am not to excuis my selff thairin bot simple to imploir that clemency quhairof utheris my collegis hes for the maist pairt tastit, hoiping gif I could be exceptit that nane of all the number suld in tym cuming better mereit his grace and pardone ; bot ye knaw extraordinarr persute movit men to extraordinar remedis heirtofoir.

Ane grit part and the best part, with your selff and utheris of that vocation, ornamentis of the land, war put to the same extremitie ;[2] for sa lang as your ennemeis

[1] Calderwood states that on 24 August 1591 Lennox was proclaimed Admiral and Sheriff of Lothian, Merse and Berwick in the place of Bothwell (v. 138-139 ; cf. *C.S.P.*, x. no. 557.)

[2] A reference to the eclipse of the Presbyterian ministers under the Arran administration. Patrick Galloway declared in his ' Apologie ' that he was suspected ' by some evill persons . . . to have knowne of the Road of

possessit the estait ye war all thocht to seik nathing bot derectlie his majesties lyff, quharof althocht ye war all most innocent as your actionis sensyne hes weill declarit, yit durst ye not present your selff in peaciable maner befoir his majestie, bot war forcit sair aganis your hairtis for your savety to cum unto his hienes in extraordinar maner. With this the exemplis of Mortoune and Gowri may serve for a lesoun in all agis quhat it is to men to confyd in thair awin innocency sa lang as thair ennemie sittis to gif them justice. Now I pray yow consider chirritable of theis exemplis and let the remembrance of your awin estait past induce yow to pittie myne now, for ye being then accusit be James Stewart [1] for convening at Striviling in tressonable maner, sending in dissagysit [2] persons to await on his majestie at hunting and to bereawe him of his lyff, fleing away with the cryme quhilk arguit your giltines, preaching blaspheemuslie of his majestie, and sum of your awin numberis blawing the belleis and calling yow nocht trew pasturis bot wolffis ; and now by menis of chancler Metland Sir George Home [3] and Carmichall [4] I am con-

Ruthven, becaus I was minister of Perth, wherof the Earle of Gowrie was Proveist.' On the execution of Gowrie, he and some of his brethren ' fled to England ; not that they were guiltie of this interprise of taking of Stirline, but onlie becaus the furie of the enemie bracke out then, which long before boyled in their breasts.' (Calderwood, iv. 115, 38.) Galloway's ' Apologie ' does not mention the details here stated by Bothwell. See Calderwood, iv. 110-122 ; Bannatyne *Miscellany*, i. no. ix.

[1] Earl of Arran.

[2] dissagysit=disguised, acting an assumed part in order to deceive.

[3] Sir George Home, afterwards Earl of Dunbar, one of the Court party or cubiculars. On 1 May 1593 he and Lennox both subscribed a resolution of the Privy Council for the more rigorous prosecution of Bothwell. (*P.C.*, v. 73.) The *Border Papers* show that there were many points at issue between Bothwell and those of the name of Home, and Bothwell had slain the brother of Sir George Home. (*Border Papers*, i. 488 ; cf. *S.P.*, iii. 285, where it is stated on the authority of the Great Seal that a brother of Home ' was killed in a quarrell.') The charter cited grants remission to Bothwell's half-brother, the Earl of Caithness, and others. (*R.M.S.*, ii. no. 826.)

[4] Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk. There had been strife between him and Bothwell on the Border. Bothwell accused him of being a pensioner of Elizabeth, and of seeking his destruction for the sake of the favour of the English Queen. (*Border Papers*, i. p. 488.)

damnit for wichcraft, for attempting at the Abbay and Falkland with ane number of uther folesche calumneis. Thair is no difference betuix the two tymis in innocency forme or substance but alennerly in circumstancis of personis persewars and persewit. Now, my beloved brother, setting a syd all feid and favour, I beseik yow, for his saik quhois evangell ye trewly precche and for that involabill luiff quhilk aucht to be amang ws professing the puriti thairof, to wey thir materis prudently and equally, to delait them to his majestie faithfully and chirritable and ather to confort or threttin me as ye think I mereit. Esteme nocht, I pray yow, that I wald remane in this cuntrey onder sic hazard as I dayly endure for contempt of his majestie or for ony uther respect bot that I wis rather to lose my lyff, or [1] that I sould depart chargit and blotit with sa foull a cryme. Nether was it ever my intentioun at the Abbay or Falkland incace I haid cum to my purpois to have remanit ony langer within this realme nor I haid reseavit a condingne tryell of my innocency, and, if it war the plesour of God to move his majesties hairt to this benignitie, sould be at his majesties commandement and the Kirkis, and no utherwayis that I sould remaine eftir reseving so insufferable and ondeservit indigniteis at the handis of so partiall and malitious persons. The opinioune I have of your sinceritie assewris me of your freindlie mediatioun and hesty answer; and so, referring the rest to your prudent discretioun, I commit yow to Godis protectioune, frome [2] . The xij off Apryll 1593.

Your loving and assewrit freind

BOTHUELL.

Original, autograph signature, slits along the margin, 2⅓ pp. Vol. B, 356.

[1] or=rather than.

[2] Blank. He was at, or near, Berwick at this time. (*Border Papers*, i. nos. 810, 830.)

LXIX

Copy of my lord Chancelloris letter to the Quene

30 April 1593.

PLEIS YOUR MAJESTIE

I houpit be my absence and silence your Majestie sould have bene the les irritat, and the undeservit evill will of my ennemeis somquhat relentit,[1] bot finding the contrarie, specialie my silence misconstruit be thame as a presumptioun of my giltines I ame enforceit (alwayis maist humbillie criving your Majesties pardon for my bouldnes) to bewaill my mishap in that I ame the onelie man of this nation aganis quhome your hienes wrath hes appearit, protesting befoir God I never thocht in hart let be to have utterit in speiche or committit in action that quhilk mycht tend to your Majesties dishonour or offence in ony sort, bot attour the dewetifull respect I aucht to your hienes as my maistres for the good princelie partis I saw in your hienes was particulerlie devoted to your Majesties service. Gif my delatouris wald planelie kyith thame selffis or my accusation war publict, my defence wald be easie and the meanis facile to justifie my cause, bot aganis quyet calumneis and privie suggestion I have no uther remedie bot recourse to your hienes princelie equitie, maist humbillie beseiking your Majestie for that just tryell quhilk seildome is refusit to the maist notable offendouris, or at least that it mycht pleis your Majestie to signifie to me, war it be the smallest inklin quherby I may conjectour the cause of my offence, quhilk I will accompt as the greatest benefit I can ressave. And gif my innocencie appeare nocht altogether indoubtit and to your Majesties full satisfaction then let me be deamit gyltie and unworthie of your hienes clemencie and favorable continence; quhilk I crave rather for my awne purgation nor the disgrace of my unfreindis, contenting my self that albeit mony have hard how your Majestie

[1] The chiefs of the faction against him were the Queen, the Duke of Lennox, Earls of Argyle and March, Lord Home, and the Master of Glammis. (*P.C.*, v. 6 n.)

hes be thame bene incensit aganis me and nane of ony my offence, nather is your Majestie blamit nor I disestemit, bot sic as publict fame jugis to be misreporteris sa hatit and spoken of that I wische na greitar revenge nor acquytall ;[1] and as my behaviour hes alwayis bene sa moderat that I never socht the wraik of ony, ye, nocht of thame quha maist crewellie thristed my blood laking oftentymes nather credit power nor meanis to revenge, so desire I nocht the harme or disgrace of ony for ther calumneis or surmyses aganis me, nather crave I your Majesties wraith to be movit aganis thame bot removit from me, nather do contend for place in credit bot to be secund to nane in affection to your Hienes service. Nather do I feir in ony sort your Majesties severitie, having found your hienes wrath sa clement and altogether voyd of ony desire of my domage or harme, bot being sory from my hart that the malice and misreportis of my ennemeis hes sa farre prevailit aganis my honest and trew affection that any hard conceat sould have growin in your Majestie of me, quha will alwayis accompt it as my greatest honour that your hienes will esteme of me as I sall gif effectuell pruif I continew devoted, and nocht disdane the zeale I sall ever cary to your hienes service, and that it may pleis your Majestie clementle to accept this my trew purgation and deame of me according to my desert and behaviour, remitting me alwayis to your Majesties benevolent censure, quhilk gif my standing precyselie to my justificatioun may irritat I will maist humbillie crave pardon for quhatsumever your Majestie sall interpret to be offensive, and be my service and future behaviour repair that I never thocht as gif I had offendit in deid, resting alwayis asseured your Majestie will consider and determyne of me according to your good naturall inclinatioun so graciouslie extendit to all utheris, quher-

[1] Thirlestane was never acquitted by any 'tryell.' He conciliated the Queen by resigning the lordship of Musselburgh, and the King was anxious to have him restored to office. (Cf. Nos. LXXVI ; VII, Part II.) It was not till 15 October that he resumed his seat upon the Privy Council, although on 22 June Bowes mentions his return to court. (*P.C.*, v. 92 n., 101 and n. ; *C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. 629.) Negotiations went on for some months.

unto alwayis appeiling maist humbille imploring your Majesties pardon for this my to greit but forcit importunitie, efter I have maist humbille kissit your Majesties handis, bot never meaning to tak my leif, I wishe your hienes of God a lang and prosperous regne. From Lethingtoun the last of Aprile 1593.

Copy, $1\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Vol. A, 356.

LXX

Instructions to our trusty and weilbeloved counsellor Sir Robert Melvile of Murdocarney knight, our ambassador: directed be us to our dearest sister and cousine the Quene of England 4 Junij 1593.[1]

4 June 1593.

After presenting of our letters with our hartyest commendations unto our dearest sister and cousine the Queen of England, ye shall declaire unto her that according to our promese conteaned in our answeres returned be the Lord Burgh her late ambassador with ws we have made speciall choyse of yow, upon pruif had of your oft experienced fidelitye, and sound dispositioun, we ar acquented ye carye to the continewance and increse of that firme amitye and mutuall gud intelligence requisit betwixt ws, to signifye unto her our wholle preceadeur sen the departure of her said ambassador ; and how sincerelye we rest affected to the prosecutioun of that actioun importing so heighlye to Relligioun, both our states and this wholle yle, so we may find the favourable assistance and ayd of our said dearest sister, quhairwith we luik assuredlye to be comforted in all the severall poyntis to be remembered heirafter.

Bot before ye proceade to the particulars, first of all ye shall declair how in honour we are moved to renew the complaint of our evill usage by the resset and intertene-

[1] On 10 June Bowes wrote to Burghley that Melville was setting out, and spoke of his own 'efforts to delay the departure of Sir Robert Melvill to England.' (*C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. p. 629.)

ment of our maist avowed and contempteous rebell Frances sumtyme Erle Bothuell, upon the bordouris of England, quha having so oft hunted our lyfe and monye wayes soght our dishonour, quhairwith frome tyme to tyme the Queen our dearest sister hath bene acquented, we can not bot find it strainge that yit he is resset and comforted within her realme, and na sic exemplare punishement inflicted to his avowit and opin ressetters as wes promised, and we assuredlye luiked for. Quhat the recent league betuixt our said dearest sister and ws and the auntient treateis betuixt our progenitouris in sic caissis provydis is weill enough knawin to her and her counsell, and, yf it shall nede, the extractis delyvered to yow will testifye. Ye shall therfoir maist earnestlye insist and urge his apprehensioun and delyverye to ws and sic his complices as can be found with him in case thay be thair presentlie the tyme of your negotiatioun. And yf otherwayes, at leist that he and thay be removed from all resset and maintenance within any pairt of that realme, and the fautoris and interteneyers of sa monstruous a rebell delivered likewise to ws and displaced of thair offices yf onye thay have, according to the treaties. Quhilk being maist equitable efter so monye promeses past in her severall letters of her awin hand to ws, and be the mouth of her ambassador resident heir, we expect at last to ressave sic satisfactioun as in honour and reasoun we may rest contented.[1]

Ye shall likewise informe our said dearest sister that the

[1] At the date of these Instructions Bothwell was being harboured in the north of England. Lord Scrope, the Warden of the West March, was ordered to give him no official countenance, but to encourage him in secret. On 13 June he fulfilled a royal command by making a proclamation against Bothwell at Carlisle Cross, but would not ' execute the same ' until he was informed that it was ' her Majesty's pleasure to punish any breach thereof.' He wrote ' to Mr. Bowes to inform the king, which I think will satisfy him for the time.' (*Border Papers*, ii. nos. 845, 848.)

If Elizabeth's verbal reply was as ambiguous as her written word, sent by Melville, it must have been cold cheer for the King. ' As for Bodwell,' she wrote, ' I besech yow way well what this bearer can justly tell yow of me herein. I suppose his owne conscience will never accuse me of any over greate partiality that way. He hath seen to much to beleve yt.' (*Letters, Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XLVIII ; *H.P.*, iv. 344.)

continuatioun of the parliament proceadit upon a necessitye, sic thingis as wes requisite to be done not being in readines, as fell out the last yeare quhen Bothuell wes forfaulted, bot that at the day now appointed, it shall undoubtedlye hauld, and after the sentence pronunced all extremitye to be used and sic ordour taken as shalbe resolved in parliament, quhairin we assuredlye luik for her ayd and assistence in sic sorte as may allwayes enhable ws to that executioun.[1]

And for the better accomplishement of our intendit course heirin and maniament of our other affaires of greatest moment we have made choyse of certane speciall persones of our counsell to be attending and resident with ws, that ar knawin to be wyse, weill affected to Religioun, our estate, and amitye betuixt the two realmes, and thairwithall zealous and cairefull to have the springis of these conspiracies sought out and all gud meanes applyit for remedeing of thame, quhais gud advise and resolutioun we have determined to follow without alteringe of the same (not excluding allwayes the rest of the nobilitie and ordinar counsell set doun in the act of our last parliament,[2] quhen they shall happin to be present) as the copye of the act maid thairanent,[3] quhilk ye carye with yow, proportis, quhairin thair names are expressed in speciall. Tuiching

[1] Parliament met on 3 April ; on the 4th summons was raised for treason against Bothwell, the Spanish conspirators, and certain Islesmen ; and Parliament was then prorogued until 10 July. (*A.P.S.*, iv. 3-5.) John Davidson preached against this as ' a blacke parliament, becaus iniquitie was come in rowme of equitie in the high court of justice.' (Calderwood, v. 255.) ' The king shewed to the commissioners of the kirk that his advocat, Mr. David Makgill, had assured him that Huntlie, Angus, and Erroll, could not be forefaulted at this tyme, for laike of probatioun. . . . So, little good was done at this parliament. . . . Dunfermline was confirmed to the queene, Bothwell was forfaulted, Huntlie, Erroll, and Angus, were not forefaulted ; for offers were given, in their names, to satisfie the king and the kirk.' (*Ibid.*, 254, 255 ; cf. Tytler, ix. 86-87.)

[2] *A.P.S.*, iii. p. 562.

[3] ' Royal Act anent the Privy Council, with re-appointment of Councillors,' 31 May 1593. It is noteworthy that, although still in retirement, the Chancellor was nominated, along with his rivals, Lennox and Glammis. This was a ' private Act of the King.' (*P.C.*, v. viii, xv, 753-754.)

our ministers on the bordouris, thay ar sic as ye can declair of greatest habilitie and power in they boundis, and as we trest favourers of the present tranquillitye. Her servand and resident ambassador heir is acquented with the particulers of thair proceadingis and behaviour, and we doubt not hes faithfullye advertised the same frome tyme to tyme, as also of the gud dispositioun found in ws and our counsell to further and performe quhatsoever may entertene the gud amitye and present tranquillitye. Yf there be defaultis in the qualities of our wairdens we will not spair to put better in thair places, as be gud advise shalbe found requisit; quhairanent yf ye shall find the Quene our dearest sister or her counsell to insist earnestlye with yow we have gevin yow a memoir apairt how farre to speik or deill in bordour matters.

And sen na thing breadis a greater cause of misrule and unquyetnes on the bordouris nor the wilfull and avowit recept of the declarit tratouris and rebellis of ather Prince, ye mon not omit in this place to reiterat the complaint of our evill usage in the resset and intertenement granted upon the bordouris of England to Bothuell, quha accumpanyed with a great number of her subjectis be crossing of an arme of sea [1] come toward our awin houssis farre within the land, besyde the accumpaneing him at dyvers tymes throw our frontier townes as thought he were avowed to be under our said dearest sisters saulfgard, a forme verye unplesand to ws and that we have lang luiked to sie repaired. We have caused complein upon the Englishemen that with him attempted the reiffis and spoyle at Falkland and resset him and the guddis spoyled according to the lawes of the marches,[2] and yet hes caused supersede the persute quhill this tyme, ever houping that the same wicked man and his chief ressetters should have bene delivered to ws. Quhairin ye mon now earnestlie crave of our said dearest sister that she will lat ws have some gud satisfactioun, and that sic his

[1] Probably the Solway Firth, as the *Border Papers* show that Bothwell was being reset in Cumberland about this time.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the complaints of James in *Border Papers*, i. no. 783.

complices, Englishemen, as were with him at that attemptat of Falkland conteaned in the bill presented be our wairdene to the wardene of the west marche of England [1] may also be delivered, quhill that attemptat be redressed, in respect we past fra the rigour intendit, and quhilk justlye might have bene craved be the bordour lawes at her resident ambassadouris desire, yelding at that tyme to his requeist and contented with the delyverie of the principall faltouris quhairin he promesed to use his exact diligence and to worke our satisfactioun.

Yf ye shalbe urged to condiscend in particulare to the ayd craved be ws for the better prosequutioun of the authouris of these tressonable practizes, we declared to the Lord Burgh to quhat endis and purpose the forces necessarlye behoved to be imployed, and for the number we thinke (except some forraine force arryve to the support of the rebelles) sex hundreth shalbe sufficient, equall of horsemen and footemen; quhilk yf the Quene our dearest sister can not be moved to graunt ye shall then discend to the number of four hundreth, and na fewar, quhais monethlye pay with thair commanders will extend to [2] in the moneth; and in the space of sex monethis within the quhilk the service, as is thought, may end (except sa monye as shalbe still reteaned for our guarde) the sowme will amownt to [2], quhilk ye shall crave to be delyvered to you there, or ressaved frome the handis of her resident ambassador heir, and that the day of first payment may be the first of Julij nixt.

Besyde thir occasions necessarlye craving the supplye of forces there is yit ane other maist requisit, for the quhilk we man crave the ayde of our said dearest sister, of a ship or twa with munitioun and poulder for expugnatioun of certane houssis in the West Yles of this realme possessed be personis disobedient that occupyis and makes unfruictful

[1] In August, Lord Maxwell delivered to Lowther, the English Deputy-Warden of the West Border, a list of fourteen Englishmen implicated in the Raid of Falkland. (*Ibid.*, no. 765.)

[2] Blank.

to ws a lairge boundes of the proper landis of our crowne,[1] quhilk being reducit to obedience it will augment our rent, cutt away subterfuge and recept to the authouris of this treassonable practize, and mak the north partes of Ireland mekle mair obedient and profitable to our said dearest sister, a matter thought off and speciallie provydit in the league betuix us.

Furthermoir ye shall remember the Queen our dearest sister of that gratuitye quhilk it pleased her to bestow upon us, quhen we enterit in league together, beginnand in the yeare 1586 with four thousand poundis at leist and maist freindlye declaratioun of her gud will not to lessen that maner of kyndnes toward ws, bot rather as cause should requyre to augment it, quhairof according to her wryting we have made our assured accompt; and that she will never directlye nor indirectlye do or suffer to be done anye thing that she may lett or withstand to the diminutioun emparing or derogatioun of onye greatnes right or title that may be dew to ws in ony sort, or in onye tyme present or future without manifest ingratitud on our pairt, quhilk God willing she shall never find; the performance of quhilk two kyndes of gratitudes we ever luiked and still firmelye luikes to find in effect, as never thinking to move or provoke her to the contrarye. And now this being the aucht yeir sen her beginning with this yearlie gratuitye ye shall earnestlye desyre her to cause to be rekinnit quhat is ressaved of the said annuity to our use in the said aucht yeiris space, and to command sa mekle as restis to be payd for the outred[2] of certane our speciall and privat affaires quhairunto we have destinat the same, and appointed sic as we have acquented yow with to the recept thairof their.

Copy, 4 pp. Vol. B, 399.

[1] In the Parliament of April 1593, Angus M'Conill of Dunyveg and his accomplices were summoned for treason. (*A.P.S.*, iv. 4-5.) This matter was of importance to Elizabeth, because of the intercourse between the Islesmen and her rebels in Ireland. Trouble broke out in 1595. (Tytler, ix. 175.)

[2] outred=clearing up.

LXXI

The States-General to James VI.

$\frac{7 \text{ July}}{27 \text{ June}}$ 1593.

The States-General of the United Provinces have heard the credit given, under date 16 February last, to Sir William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem, and, after mature deliberation with him thereanent, they thank the King for the kind expression of his regard. On their side, they will always be very ready to do him pleasure according to the treaties, obligations, and ancient friendship between Scotland and the Low Countries. They rejoice that almighty God has endowed his Majesty with all the royal qualities necessary to safeguard the true reformed religion and the lands and peoples professing the same against the violence and intrigue of the Pope, King of Spain and their confederates, whose design clearly is to subjugate (under the cloak of the Roman religion) all lands to their tyrannous domination over soul, body, and goods. The examples of the Low Countries, England, France, Portugal, Germany, and Scotland are sufficient to convince rulers and states who have not yet been attacked that they must make common cause with those who have. All of them have good reason to extol the forethought and resolution of his Majesty who, even before the discovery of the plots in Scotland, foresaw that to resist Spanish ambition and tyranny it would be necessary for the Kings of France, England, Scotland, Denmark, and the Protestant Princes of Germany to make common cause. All Christendom will ever be beholden to his Majesty that he took the first steps some years ago by his ambassadors, Stewart and John Skene. Since then the design of the King of Spain and his confederates has become yet more manifest, especially through what has happened and still happens daily in France and what has lately been attempted in Scotland, not to mention his great preparations and new levies of foot and horse for service by land and sea. It is more than time for Christian rulers and states to make a counter-league both defensive and offensive against such baneful schemes.

The States thank the King for informing them by his ambassador of the plots made in Scotland by the ministers of the Spanish King and some of his own malcontent nobles. They rejoice that God has preserved him for the weal of Christendom, his kingdom, and himself. This they take for a sure sign that the divine aid will prosper his Majesty's resolution to promote a general alliance among all Christian rulers and states to crush the schemes of the King of Spain and his adherents. Since his Majesty has asked their advice in this matter, they declare that they know no better way than that the said alliance be speedily made between France, England, Scotland,

Denmark, and such other princes, states, and republics as may wish to join. The league should be defensive and offensive, so that by stirring up trouble for the King of Spain at home he would be constrained to leave others in peace. The States have long considered that, humanly speaking, this was the only way to achieve success for the common cause of Christendom, and they will always be ready to join therein. They believe that, under God, the alliance can best be promoted by his Majesty, who has a special interest in it, was its originator, and has suitable resources; and they are confident that he will work successfully for the good of Christendom in general and of his own realm and people in particular.

The States thank his Majesty that he maintains intercourse with them on religious and political matters of common interest. They will do likewise and oblige him in all things possible, especially in the export of powder and arms for five or six thousand soldiers, and the seizure of his rebels who may presume to come into their country.

As to what concerns the private affairs of the ambassador, the States do not doubt but that on mature consideration of their reasons written to his Majesty on 12 November 1590, he will be willing to accept one of the alternatives.

Finally, they thank him for undertaking this negotiation, and beg him to make a favourable report, excusing their delay in replying for reasons given verbally to him.

Les Estats Generaulx des Provinces Unies du Pays Bas ayants examine la proposition faicte de la part du Roy d'Escosse par le Sieur Guillaume Steuart Conseillier de Sa Majeste et Commandadeur de Pettinweme en vertu de ses lettres de credence datees le xvj[e] de feburier dernier [1] et meurement delibere sur la communication tenue avecq Sa Seigneurie sur les points de sa charge ont en premier lieu remercie bien humblement Sadicte Majestie de sa benigne et favorable recommandation et presentation faicte par icelle, declairants quil leur est fort agreable d'entendre que le Roy tient en favorable et bonne recommandation l'estat de ces Pays et les manans d'icelluy, et que de leur coste aussy ilz seront tousjours tresprompts et tresvolontaires a luy complaire avecq tout deu respect et honneur suivant les traictez, obligations, et amities qui ont este d'anciennete entre les Roys et Royaulme d'Escosse et ces Pays, estans

[1] There is no mention of this embassy in the Records of the Privy Council.

tresaises de ce que le Seignieur Dieu toutpuissant a doue sa Majeste pour le bien de la cause commune de la Chrestiente avecq toutes les qualitez royales requises a la tuition de la vraye Religion reformee, les droictz communs et libertez des royaulmes pays estats et les manans d'iceulx qui par la grace de Dieu font profession d'icelle si bien contre les violences et forces que machinations et mauvaises practicques du Pape de Rome Roy d'Espaigne et leurs associez, le desseing desquelz indubitablement tend a subjuger (se servants du pretexte de la religion Romaine) soubs leur superbe domination et tyrannie plus que barbare sur les ames corps et biens, tous royaulmes pays et estats, dont les exemples et procedures non seullement en ces Pays Bas mais aussy es royaulmes d'Angleterre France Portugal Allemaigne et dernierement aussy au royaulme de vostre Majeste sont par trop evidentes et notoires et en rendent suffisant tesmoignage et se peuvent tenir bien asseurez les roys princes potentats et aultres estats contre lesquelz n'a este encoires attente de faict quil leur en va et depend aultant que a ceulx contre lesquels a desia este entreprins tellement que ung chascun a bonne raison doibt louer haultement la royale et heroicque prevoyance et resolution de sadicte Majeste per laquelle il a tressaigement preveu avant qu'avoyent este descouvert lesdictes machinations contre sa propre personne estat et royaulme que pour resister a l'ambition Espaignolle et pretendue monarchie et tyrannie d'icelle qu'il convenoit necessairement que tout promptement les Roys chrestiens de France Engleterre Escosse Dennemarche et les Princes Protestans d'Allemaigne prinsent une mesme resolution, comme aussy toute la Chrestiente luy demeurera a tousjours tresobligee de ce que sa Majeste en a commence et faict passe quelques annees par ledict Sieur Steuart et Johannes Skeneus ses ambassadeurs,[1] et d'aultant que depuis ladicte legation il est encoires apparu plus clairement que oncques auparavant ledict desseing du Roy d'Espaigne et de ses associez nommement au regard de ce qu'est advenu apres et se faict

[1] In 1590. Cf. No. XLV.

encoires journellement au royaulme de France et a este aussi puis naguerre entreprins contre la personne estat et royaulme de sa Majeste et manans d'Escosse par dessus les grands preparatifs et nouvelles levees qui se font tous les jours par le Roy d'Espaigne des gens de guerre a cheval et de pied pour les employer par eau et par terre, ne doubtent lesdicts Estats aulcunement ou tous lesdicts roys princes et estats chrestiens entendront quil est plus que temps de faire une generale alliance confederation et contreligue contre ledict pernicieulx et dommageable desseing, et d'empoigner de faict les moyens necessaires non seullement pour deffendre mais aussy pour offendre et enoultre tels que Dieu toutpuissant par sa divine grace octroye et le fera encoires a l'advenir pour l'advancement d'une negotiation tant juste honnorable et equitable.

Lesdicts Estats remercient tresaffectueusement Sa Majeste de la communication et information quil luy a pleu leur faire et donner particulierement par ledict sieur ambassadeur desdictes procedures pernicieuses et dangereuses practiques en son royaulme par les ministres du Roy d'Espaigne avecq quelques ungs principaulx de ses propres subjects dont infailliblement l'effectuelle execution eult suivie n'eult este que ladicte entreprinse avoit despleue a Dieu et quil la eult miraculeusement descouvert. Et aultant qu'ilz ont este marris et tristes a cause dudict enorme et dangereulx desseing aultant sont ilz au contraire rejouis quant ilz considerent que la puissante main de Dieu (qui a appelle Sa Majeste au royaulme) l'a ainsy benignement conservee d'ung si grand dangier et coup injuste et tyrannique pour le bien de toute la chrestiente de son royaulme et estat propre et des manans d'icelluy dont ilz remercient et louent aussi grandement Dieu, tenants pour tout certain que cela est ung signe asseure que sa divine Majeste dirigera a une heureuse fin la royale et heroicque resolution du Roy d'avancer une generale alliance union et confederation chrestienne entre tous les roys roynes princes et aultres estats chrestiens et rompre et anneantir par icelle ledict pernicieulx et dangereulx desseing du Roy d'Espaigne et de ses adherens. Et comme il a pleu a Sa

Majeste leur faire cest honneur de demander leur advis et opinion comment l'on pourroit obvier aux ulterieurs desseings dudict Roy d'Espaigne et de ses associez ensemble aussy empescher les troubles contre son royaulme, declairent lesdicts Estats qu'ilz ne scauroient adviser aulcun moyen meilleur ny plus asseure sinon que ladicte alliance confederation et association soit tout promptement faicte entre le Roy de France et de Navarre la Royne d'Angleterre et Irland Sa Majeste d'Escosse le Roy et royaulme de Dennemarcque et aultres princes estats et republicques qui s'y vouldront associer affin de non tant seullement empescher par voye defensive mais aussy offensive par eau et par terre l'injuste et tyrannicque desseing du Roy d'Espaigne et luy donner tant des besoignes en son pays propre quil soit constraint laisser les royaulmes et pays des aultres en paix. Pour autant que touche ces pays comme iceulx ont juge des long temps que cela estoit du tout necessaire voires selon le jugement humain l'unicque moyen pour unefois parvenir avecq la grace de Dieu a une saint louable et heureuse fin de la cause commune de la chrestiente aussy se trouveront ilz tousjours tresprompts et appareillez a y entendre jointement ledict Roy de France Royne d'Engleterre Roys d'Escosse Dennemarcque et aultres ; et considere que lesdicts Estats croyent fermement que ladicte alliance pourra estre mieulx et avecq plus de fruict avancee avecq l'ayde et benediction de Dieu par l'authorite et respect de Sa Majeste tant pour le regard de son tresgrand interest particulier et quil a encommence ceste negociation le premier et en a des commoditez propres et convenables que pour aultres bonnes considerations aussy ont ilz ceste asseuree confiance que icelle s'emploiera pour encheminer sadicte saine proposition et deliberation pour le bien de toute la chrestiente de son royaulme et manans d'icelluy en particulier, mesmes qu'elle s'effectuera heureusement au tresgrand honneur et reputation de Sa Majeste.

Enoultre comme cest le bon plaisir de Sa Majeste de tenir avecq ces Pays de temps a aultre bonne intelligence en affaires concernantes la Religion et l'estat tant de son

royaulme que de ces Pays pour le regard de l'interest commun et l'entretenement de l'ancienne amitie, declairent lesdicts Estats quilz en remercient aussy bien humblement icelle Sa Majeste, et que de leur coste ilz desirent tenir et porter tousjours reciprocque et pareille fidele intelligence vers sadicte Majeste, comme aussi de mesme complaire a icelle en toutes aultres choses aultant que leur sera possible, et nommement en ce que Sa Majeste desire touchant le transport hors de ces Pays des pouldres et armes pour armer cincq ou six mille soldats et le saisissement des subjects d'icelle qui se pourroient presumer venir en ces Pays trouvez coulpables de l'abominable conspiration et machination contre sa personne.

Pour aultant que touche le particulier dudict sieur ambassadeur [1] lesdicts Estats ne veullent pas doubter ou Sa Seigneurie considerant meurement les raisons contenues en leur responce et lettres escriptes a Sa Majeste le xij[e] de Novembre quatrevingt et dix s'en contentera et acceptera l'une ou l'aultre presentation.

Finalement, remercient lesdicts Estats ledict sieur ambassadeur quil luy a pleu entreprendre ceste legation pour le bien publicq de la chrestiente et le requerrent quil vueille faire a Sa Majeste rapport favorable de toute sa besoigne et excuser aussy vers icelle le dilay de ceste responce par les raisons a luy verbalement declairees.

Faict en l'assamblee des Etats Generaulx a la Haye le septieme jour de Juillet l'an mil cincq cens quatre vingts et treize.[2] J. Van Warck.

Par ordonnance desdicts Estats. J. Aerssenz. 1593.

Original, holograph in hand of Aerssens, autograph signature of Van Warck, 3½ pp. Vol. A, 426.

Inventoried in *C.S.P., Scotland*, ii. p. 629.

[1] This was a claim for 'the debt due to Colonel Stuart for his past services rendered' as a leader of mercenary troops in the service of the Low Countries. See the relevant *Papers* and biographical sketch in *Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 115 ff.

[2] On 29 July Stewart 'came to take leave of the Council, thanking them for the good resolution which the Council had come to by the States-General, as well in reference to what he proposed, on the part of the King of Scotland, as to his own private affairs.' (*Ibid.*, 147-8.)

LXXII

Elizabeth to James VI.

[*c.* January 1593-4.]

It vexes me to behold a 'seduced king, an abusing counsaill and wry-guided kingdome.' I am prompted only by solicitude for your welfare. For my own part, I could withstand my enemies, even if the worst befel you. Let others beguile you; but I tell you plainly that if you continue in the path you are treading, I will leave you to your hurt, to repent when it is too late. Only a fool would imagine that your last letter [1] would have satisfied anyone in her four senses, let alone five. 'Those of whom you have hade so evident proofe, by their actuall rebellion in the field,[2] you being present, whose offers you knew then so large to a forraine prince, and now at last when the plainest of all was takin about the carier himselfe, confessing all before many commissioners and divers counsellers, becaus you slackt the tyme till he escaped [3] and now must seeme to deny it, thogh all men knew it; therefore (forsuith) no jury can be found for them.' You cannot thus deceive me, who know what is required of a king. If you show yourself weak, then 'bold spirits' will seize the helm, and drive the ship to destruction. 'There is no prince alyve but if he show feare or yeilding, he sall have tutors anew, thogh

[1] On 7 December, James wrote to inform Elizabeth how 'his lenient policy towards the catholic earls had now gone the length of procuring an arrangement by which they were to be pronounced free of the accusations brought against them respecting the Spanish blanks, provided they would renounce Roman catholicism and submit to the kirk. If they refused to profess themselves converts to presbyterianism, their estates and honours were to be forfeited, and they themselves were to be driven into exile.' The letter in which 'the plausible Scottish sovereign' presented his case is printed in *Letters, Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. LIII; cf. Tytler, ix. 119-121. Cf. No. VII, Part IX.

[2] At the Bridge of Dee.

[3] A reference to the escape of George Ker on 21 June. Such pursuit as was made seemed to the Kirk mere 'mockerie,' for the pursuers 'persued one way, and he was convoyed another way.' (Calderwood, v. 254.)

he be owt of minoritie.' Your leniency astonishes me beyond words. ' Could you please them more then save their lyfes, and make them shun the place where they are sure their just deserved haters dwell, and yet injoy their honors and livings, as if for sporting travell they were licenced to visite other countries ? Call you this a banishment to be ridde from whome they feare, and go to such they love ? ' [1] I smiled to see ' how childish, foolish and witles ' a tool you were in the hands of these three traitor lords. You have actually let them turn a bill of treason into a bill of credit ; but they have omitted from the account the one item which they most deserved—namely, so much for the hangman's cord. If I were you, they should have short shrift. The only good point in your letter is that you do not affirm that they spoke the truth, but only that ' they say so.' Nevertheless, I marvel that you cannot find a law to deal with obvious traitors, who deny their guilt to save their lives. A resolute king can always find circumstances to excuse his policy, and ministers to carry it out. Abandon subterfuges which will not save you. ' For your oune sake play the King and let your subjects see you respect your selfe.' To inform you of my ' opinion, judgement and advyse, I have chosen this noble man, whom I know wise, religious, and honest, to whom I pray you give full credite ' as to myself.[2] May God preserve you from the counsels of those who cherish themselves more than they care for you.

[*Endorsed*] Delivered be the Lord Zouch, January 13, 1593.

Copy, with imitated signature, 2 pp. Vol. B, 358.

Printed in Tytler, ix. 124, where it is erroneously stated to be original holograph. Copied from Tytler in *Letters, Elizabeth and James VI.*, p. 98 n.

[1] According to the Act of Oblivion of 26 November 1593, the rebel Earls were to have the ' option of remaining in the country as true Protestants or going into exile, but to declare their choice between these alternatives in writing by 1st January next, and give security, the Earls in £40,000 each.' (*P.C.*, v. 108.) The text of the Act is printed in *A.P.S.*, iv. 46-48. See James's account of his dealings with the three Earls, as given in No. VII, Part IX.

[2] Lord Zouche. He had audience on 13 January, the day on which this letter was delivered. The Act of Oblivion was annulled, because the Catholic Lords had failed to comply with the conditions, and this renewed severity was attributed to the remonstrances of England. Zouche, however, carried on secret intrigues against James. (Calderwood, v. 291 ; Tytler, ix. 127-129 ; *P.C.*, v. 115 n., 116 n.)

LXXIII

Oration of Hermit of Theobalds to Queen Elizabeth

[1594.]

Most gracious Soveraigne, I humbly beseech you not to impute this my aprochinge so neere to your sacred prezence so rudely at your cominge to this house, to be a presumpcion of a beggar, for I hoap when your majesty shalbe remembred by mee who I am and how gratiously you have heretofore on the like occazion releeved my necessitie, your majestie wilbe pleazed to receave my thankis upon my knees with all humility. I am the poore Hermitte, your Majesteis Beadman, who at your last cominge hither [1] (where God graunt you may come many yeares) upon my complaint by your princely favour was restored to my Hermitage by an injunction, when my Founder upon a straunge conceite to feede his owne humour had placed mee contrary to my profession in his house amoungest a number of worldlingis and retired himsealfe in my poore Cell, where I have ever since by your onely goodnes (most peerleesse and powerfull Queene) lived in all happines (if content be happines), spendinge three partis of the day in repentaunce the fourth in prayeinge for your majesty, that as your vertues have binne the worldis wounder so your daies may see the worldis ende. And surely I am of opinion I shall not flatter my sealf if I thinke my praiers have not binne fruitlesse (thoghe millions have joyned in the like) in that since my restitucion not onely all your accions have myraculously prospered and all your enemies binne defaced : But that which most amazeth mee (to whoz long experience nothinge can seeme straunge) with theiz same eies doe I beholde you the selfesame Queene, in the same estate of

[1] In 1591. (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 241 n., 76.)

persoun, strength and beauty in which so many yeares past I behelde you, findinge no alteracion but in admiracion, in so much as I am perswaded when I looke about mee on your traine that time which catcheth every body leaves onely you untouched. And now most gracious Lady, as I have most humbly thancked you for that which is past, so being constrained to trouble your majesty with an other peticion not much differinge from the former, I have presumed to prepare for you an offeringe onely as a token of my devocion, thoughe meeter for an Hermitte to prezent as a badge of his solitary life then for so great a Monarcke to receave, but my poverty cannot amende it.

I am (as your Majesty seeth) an olde aged man apte to be full of doubtis, and experience hath taught mee that many mens promisses are no charters, yet is not my Founder to be mistrusted whoz worde is a seale to others, and as I heare it comonly reported he hath no disposicion to putt out of tennauntis so am I most sure he will never remove mee whom your Majesty hath placed : onely this perplexeth my soule and causeth colde bloode in every vaine to see the life of my Founder so often in perill, nay his dezire as hasty as his age to inheritte his Tombe being Natures tennaunt. But this I heare (which is greatest comfort and none of your least vertues) that when his body being laden with yeares [1] oppressed withe sicknes having spent his strength for publick service, dezireth to be ridd of worldly cares by endinge his daies, your Majesty with a bande of princely kindnes, even when he is most greevously sicke, and lowest brought, holdes him backe and rannsometh him. In this my anxietie have I addressed my selfe to your sacred personn, whom I beseech to consider it is not rare that sonnes are not ever of there fathers conditions, and it may be that when my younge Master shall possesse this which now under my Founder I injoy (wherof I hoap there shalbe no hast) he may be catched with such likinge of my dwellinge

[1] Sir William Cecil, Baron Burghley, was born in 1520, and died in 1598. At the time of this oration his son, Sir Robert Cecil, had already taken over much of the work of state. (See his biography in *D.N.B.*)

as he will rather uze it for a place of recreation then of meditacion ; and then of a beadman shall I become a pilgrime. And therfore seeing I heare it of all the country folke I meete with, that your Majesty doth uze him in your service as in former time you have donne his father my founder, and that, althoghe his experience and judgement be no way comparable yet, as the report goeth he hath some thingis in him like the childe of such a parent. I beseech your Majesty to take order that theiz graye haires may be assurauncis for mye aboade, that howsoewer I live obscure I may be quiet and secure not to be driven to seeke my grave, which thoughe it may be every where yet I dizire it be heere. This may be donne if you will but enjoyne him for your pleazure—whoz will is to him a lawe—not to deny me the favour firmely procured of his father at the mocion of that Goddesse of whom he holdis himselfe a second creature. And now a litle further to acquainte your Majesty with my happ (thoghe I must arme my selfe with patience) my Founder to leave all free for you and your traine hath committed to my nest all his unfledged birdis, being the comfort of his age and his pretious jewells, being to some of them Grandfather to others more, all derived from his good opinioun of mee. But such a wanton charge for a poore olde man, as, now they heare of the arryvall of such an admirable worke of nature, a man must plucke their quilles or elce they will daily fly out to see your Majesty. Such is the workinge of the grandfathers afection in them and your vertue and beauty. To this charge I will hye mee, seeing it is my destiny. And for all your Majesteis favours I can but continewe my vowed praiers for you, and in token of my poore afection prezent you on my knees theiz trifelles agreeable to my profession, by the uze whereof and by my constant faith I live free from all temptacion. The first is a Bell not bigg but of golde ; the second is a booke of goode praiers garnished with the same metall. The thirde is a Caundell of virginns waxe meete for a virginne Queene. With this booke, bell and caundell being hallowed in my Cell with good praiers I assure my selfe by whomsoever they shalbe kept endewed with con-

stant faith there shall never come so much as an imaginacion of any spirit to offend them. The like wherof I will still retaine in my Cell for my daily uze in ringinge of the Bell in singing of my praiers and giveing mee light in the night for the encrease of my devocion, whereby I may be free to my meditacion and praiers for your Majesteis countinue-aunce in your prosperity, in health honor and princely comfort.

[*Endorsed*] Del hermite de Tyballs. 1594.

Copy, 2½ pp. Vol. B, 404.

Printed in Nichol, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 241, under the title 'The Hermits Oration at Theobalds, 1593-4. Penned by Sir Robert Cecil.'

LXXIV

James VI. to Elizabeth

13 April 1594.

So many unexpected and bewildering things have happened of late, that I can scarcely find words to express myself. Borrowing your own language,[1] I am vexed to behold a 'seduced Quene.' For your honour's sake, I attribute it to 'ignorant errour' that you have allowed such things to happen in your country: my 'avowed tratour' to be openly reset and hospitably entertained; to show himself publicly in frequented places; to receive considerable help in money for levying an armed force of Englishmen and Scots; to assemble his army on the English border, and to march therefrom to within a mile of my capital and place of residence; and, when I had in person repulsed him, to retreat again to England, and to

[1] Cf. No. LXX. Tytler makes the following commentary on these two letters: 'We have seen the bitter and sarcastic letter which Elizabeth, three months before, had sent to the king by the Lord Zouch. It was now his time to reply to it, and have his revenge; which he did by the following private epistle . . . certainly not inferior, either in irony or in vigour, to the production of his good sister.' (ix. 133.)

continue to muster troops there.[1] In thinking of these things I recall your many 'solempne promises' never to afford refuge to Bothwell (against whom, indeed, you incited me, apparently without pity for him), and how I myself deserve well of you, as a constant friend, and an enemy of your enemies. The only grievance you have against me is that I do not take such proceedings against 'some particular men of my subjectis as peradventure ye would do if ye were in my rowme.' In the circumstances I cannot believe that 'against all princelye honour' you would give countenance to the above-mentioned happenings, and I appeal to you 'to solve their doubtes, and let it be sene ye will not be abused by your owin subjectis, quha preferris the satisfeing of thair basse myndit affections to your princelye honour.' Blame himself that I did not write to you by your late ambassador, 'who, although it pleased you to terme him wyse, religious and honest, had bene fitter in my opinioun to carye the message of a herauld, then any friendlye commissioun betuixt twa nichtbour princes.' I assure you that he took upon himself 'a lairge commissioun,' if such you gave him.[2] Therefore I prefer 'to send you my answer be my owin messingers.' I hope that you will not repay me so treacherously for the delivery of O'Rourke.[3] I pray you to give credence to the two gentlemen, whom I now send to you.[4] As the principal is bound for France,

[1] On 1 April Bothwell came to Kelso with an armed force from England; on the 2nd he proceeded to Dalkeith, and on the 3rd to Leith. James himself, who had foreknowledge of the plot, took the field; but 'repulsed' Bothwell by no illustrious feat of arms. See the accounts in Calderwood, *History of King James the Sext*, and Moysie.

[2] Zouche was in communication with Bothwell. (Tytler, ix. 128.) Cf. the King's denunciation of his conduct in the Instructions to Young, No. VII, Part IX.

[3] See No. LIII, p. 159 and note.

[4] The King's letter of recommendation for James Colville of Easter Wemyss and Mr. Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss, was dated at Edinburgh on the same day as this 'private epistle.' James also recommended them to Essex as envoys on 'wechtie and urgent occasions, importing no lesse then the preseruation or breake of the amitie.' (*Letters and State Papers, James VI.*, Abbotsford Club, Nos. IV and V.) The

please to send back a 'good answer' with the other as soon as possible.

Edinburgh, 13th April.

[*Endorsed*] Copy of his Majesties letter, sent with the Laird of Wemys and Mr Ed. Bruce to the Quene of England, 1594.

Copy, 1¾ pp. Vol. A, 112.

Printed in Tytler, ix. 133; *H.P.*, iv. 509; quoted by Spottiswoode, ii. 449-450.

LXXV

27 April 1594.

Answer appointed by the Quenis Majestie to be made to a writting subscrived be the secretare of Scotland, entituled An answer commaunded by his Majestie to be delyvered to the Lord Zouche, ambassadour for the Quenis Majestie of England.[1]

The Lord Zouche upoun his returne,[2] amongste many other thingis reported to hir Majestie concerning his ambassage, hath imperted to hir Majestie the contentis of a writting subscrived by the Kingis Secretarye in the Kingis name, comprysed in fyve articlis; and theron hir majestie hathe commanded me to mak this answer to be shewed to the King.

1. Upoun the first article, contenyng that the King sall prosequute with all extremitie the proces of forfaltouris [3]

Instructions for Wemyss and Bruce are contained in the MS. collection of *Denmilne Papers* in the National Library of Scotland.

[1] The substance of the 'answer commanded by his Majestie to be delyvered to the Lord Zouche' is given in *H.P.*, iv. 513. He promised to march against the 'papistical traitors' before 20 April, and requested that Elizabeth would support him with money and by restraining Bothwell.

[2] Zouche was at Berwick on 6 April, and hoped to be in London by the following Saturday. (*C.S.P., Scot.*, i. p. 648.) There was a report that his house in Edinburgh had 'been guarded these 3 or 4 days,' immediately preceding his departure (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 94. Cf. No. VII, Part IX.) for suspicions against him.

[3] Process for treason against the Catholic Earls was raised in Parliament in June 1593; and in January 1593-4 after the cancellation of the Act of Abolition; and they were forfeited in June. (*A.P.S.*, iv. 4, 52-53, 56-61; Spottiswoode, ii. 455.)

at the day prefixed against the papist loirdis, hir majestie can not bot allow of this promese of the Kingis, having had also the lyke promises made at sindrie tymes heirtofoir. But by coullour of wordis of prefixed dayis uncertanelie keipit being (as it semethe) moveable and changeable, hir majestie hathe hitherto seyne no gude performance of suche offers.

2. Upoun the secund, contenyng the kingis offer in the meantyme to pass in his propir persoun against the saidis offendaris the xx of Aprile,[1] and to prosecute thame with all extremitye untill thay be forced to yeild suche obedience as shall content bothe the princes, or ellis by thair dew punishment be unable to endanger the religioun or the estate of ather of the realmes: hir majestie lyketh verry weill of that course to be taikin in hand, for the honour of God, to the mantenance of religioun, the suirtie and estimatioun of the king as ovir rewling suche seditious traterous rebellis, and in freing of bothe the princes and thair cuntreis frome danger of invasioun of thair cuntreis by insolent tyrannous strangearis. And therfore hir majestie wishethe the continewance of suche ane honorabill mynde in the king; which no doutt God will prosper and being taikin in hand, the mater can have no difficultie to staye it.

3. Upoun the third, the Lord Zouche did declair to hir majestie that, besydis the generall commandmentis that had bene gevin to the 3 generall wardanes to forbid the resset of the Erle Bothuell into their bordouris, or to yeild him anye ayde to mak anye attemptis in Scotland, he did certanelie knaw that, where of late in the middle merche there wer secretlie assembled a nowmer of horsmen, which the warden doubted wald have stollen into Scotland to the Erle Bothuell, the warden did then, according to the Quenis former commissioun, spedelie by oppin proclamatioun cause all the said horsmen to be dispersed and to returne to the placeis of their residence: so as the king may heirwith be

[1] It was not until 4 October that James made his expedition to the north. See No. LXXXVIII.

weill pleased to se hir commandement in that sorte obeyd. And yit hir majestie seethe, with quhat difficultie the affectioun of the vulgar people towardis the said erle by way of compassioun is to be restrayned frome secreit favouring of him, nochtwithstanding most strate commandementis to the contrarie : and the rather therfore pardonable in thame, bycause they se in what sorte he is openlie succoured and ayded in the kingis awin cuntrie, speciallie upoun the bordouris, where for the space of these 2 or 3 yeiris he and his cumpanye have bene suffered to pass frome towne to towne without restraint or impeachement, as the king him self hathe proved by experience and yit hitherto hathe found no remedye, no not when he hathe comed to Edinburcht the kingis principall cietie. And where the king by that article requirethe that untill the end of his intended prosequutioun of the erlis, the erle Bothuell should be detayned frome suche attemptis, or, after the end of the said expiratioun, to be delyvered or no wyse favoured by hir majestie or anye of hir subjectis : hir majestie continewethe hir former opinioun, that the erle sall not be suffred to have anye comforte in hir realme to attempt anye thing against the kingis persoun, or to impeache the kingis prosequutioun of the rebellis.

4. The fourt article conteanethe a motioun to be ayded with some support of money, for the furtherance of the kingis actioun, to be furnesched at the tyme of the prosecutioun, or befoir his returning frome those pairtis. To this motioun hir majestie findeth small cause of answer, for that the experience of governament in that realme for martiall services, wher the king usethe to imploy him self in persoun, is knawin that the people and forceis of that realme ar usuallie leveyed and brought to the feild in warlyke maner without anye speciall wageis ; [1] so it hathe bene sene that

[1] When James did go upon his northern ' Raid,' it was upon ' the waiged horsemen and footmen ' and not upon ' the commoun forces gathered by proclamatioun ' that his chief strength ' reposed.' For want of money it was found expedient ' to direct a man of credite to move the burghes and weill affected of all rankes, to send with diligence the secund moneth's pay.' The Kirk was active in the matter. (Calderwood, v. 353-354.)

manye armyes there have bene leveyed in tymes of warris against England without anye wageis gevin be the king ; althocht, thankis be to God, there hathe bene no cause of complaint heirof on ather syde above the space of 34 or 35 yeiris. And thairfoir hir majestie seethe no caus of necessitie for the king to differ this so publique and profitabill service of the realme upoun expectatioun of anye peace of money out of England. And, besydis that, hir majestie seethe no lyklyheid, how suche portioun of money should be imployed in this kynde of service, considdering by gude experience sche saw the last yeir, that upoun the delyverie of a gude portioun of money frome hence, she nevir undirstode that anye part thairof was imployed in anye service against the saidis rebellis ; thoucht indeid at that tyme a small imployment of some pairt of that sowme mycht have reduced the erlis to that low estate, as now this yeir the king neided not anye further money. Nether can sche indeid expect anye effectuall suppressioun of the said rebellis, if there shalbe no uthir course held against them this yeir then was the last ; when thocht they wer forced to abandon thair houses, yit the custody thairof wes in the end gevin ovir to thair freindis, and consequentlie restored to the rebellis, and by them evir sence frelie enjoyed ; [1] an argument of no prosecutioun of thame for thair correctioun. But besydis this, gif it be trew that is generallie reported, a great absurditie against the kingis honour committed in this, that the erle Huntlie obtened a commissioun in nature of lieutendrie in the northe granted to his freindis for him at the same tyme he was publist a tratour.

5. The last article is of all uthir most strange ; for it presageth that all the nobill offers made by the King in the first article may liklie vanyshe to a smoake for it concludethe doutfullie in this sorte : that, for lak ather of

[1] A reference to the King's northern expedition in February 1592-3. See No. LXVI. The lands of the Catholic Earls were seized by the Crown, but ' their patrimonial interest, and rights of succession, were considered to be still entire till an act of parliament had confirmed the forfeitures ; and part of their estates were placed in friendly hands.' (Tytler, ix. 75-76.)

delyverie or restrayning of Bothuell, or support of money in dew tyme, the interrupting or retarding of the kingis actioun so planelie offred may not be imputed to the King, nor his gude meaning interpreted to schewes. So as by these kynde of wordis it may be gathered that thair is more regarde paid to a restraint of Bothuell (which nochtwithstanding is offered by hir majestie to be so performed in hir awin realme) and to have a portioun of money then to mak the realme free frome the most dangerous tratouris that can be ymagyned against God and the generallitie of fredome of the realme. At Edinburgh [*sic*] [1] the xxvij of Aprile 1594.

Copy, 3 pp. Vol. A, 54.
Cf. *H.P.*, iv. 519.

LXXVI

Enstructions to our trusty and weilbelovit Counsallour Mr Peter Young of Setoun Master Almosar directed be us ambassadour to our darest brother and mother the King and Queen of Denmark etc. and to some other Princes of the Impyre. Apryle 1594.

April 1594.

After our lettres presented and hairtyest commendationis to the King and Quene of Denmark our derrest brother and mother, ye sall declair that we have made choyse of yow be quhome, as the first motioun wes made of oure mariage with that crown now seing it hes pleased God to blisse ws with the wisched successioun of our awin bodye in the birth of a young sone,[2] to mak thame ac-

[1] Compare the Answer which was dated at Greenwich on 20 April, and the Answer of a similar tenor, dated 27 April, and enclosed in a letter from Bowes to Burghley on the 30th. (*C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. 649-650.)

[2] Henry Frederick, Duke of Rothesay, born in Stirling Castle on 19 February 1593-4. (Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 272.) His birth 'wes a great comfort and maiter of joy to the haill pepill, and movit thame to great triumphe, wantonnes and play . . . as gif the pepill had bein daft for mirthe.' (Moysie, 113.) Created Prince of Wales in 1610; died 1612.

quainted frome ws of so glade and acceptabill newis quharat we ar assured there wilbe no small joy and congratulatioun.

Seing be Goddis providence our sa strait allyance and freindschip with that croun is now mair encressed and perpetuallye, as it wer, confirmed to our greatest comfort, as we ar assured na lesse to thair gude lyking and contentment, we could nocht omit with the first to geve thame knawlege thairof be yow and thairwithall hairtlie invite thame be sic as thay sall pleas direct as witnes to assist the baptisme in thair names appointed to the xv day of Julye nixtocum.[1]

Off the Quene our derrest bedfallowis gude convalescence and present estate with quhatsumevir uthir thinges thay wilbe curious to questioun yow upoun, ye sall certifie and gif sic answeris as we have instructed yow, the particularis quharof we remit to your faithfull report.

Ye sall lyikwyis remember how the quene our derrest bedfallow being moved upoun certane informatiounes and misreportis against our traist cousing the lord of Thirlstane our chancellare, for hir satisfactioun onlye and eschewing to geve anye occasioun of offence, he sequestrat him self a lang tyme frome court and our presence (continewing alwyis in our gude grace and favour) nocht withstanding of the great necessitie offerrit of his calling to our service and imployment, to the na small hinderance of our effairis evill managed throw occasioun of his absence; that in the meantyme thair ambassadouris arryving heir [2] quhais commissioun wes for the mater of Dunfermeling, at our desire he not onlye willinglie resignit all and haill the landis and loirdschip of Mussilburgh (nochtwithstanding of his undoutit securitye quhilk be na law nor equitye culd justlye be quarrellit) the same being speciallie excepted out

[1] The baptism did not, however, take place until 30 August, in the Chapel Royal at Stirling. (Calderwood, v. 343.) See No. LXXXIV.

[2] On 2 July 1593 a Danish ambassador arrived at Dunfermline. He was commissioned 'to see the queene possessed in her joynture, and that the same be ratified in parliament.' (Calderwood, v. 254; cf. *A.P.S.*, iii. 24, 25.) He departed in August. See No. VII, Part IX.

of the Quene our derrest bedfallowis morgonatik[1] gift, quharby the rest of that abbacie of Dumfermelinge wes disponed to her, bot lyikwyis being desyrit be ws he made resignatioun of the teindis of Inneresk quhilk he had acquyred *jure privato*, and be na rycht flowing frome ws, upoun promese alwyis in presence of the saidis ambassadouris and twa uthir of the ministeris confirmed be a letter all writtin be our awin hand that the samin suld returne bak to him and securitye be made thairof; quhilk wes performed accordinglie befoir ony dispositioun made to our derrest bedfallow, that in the procuratorye of resignatioun of the landis and loirdschip of Mussilburgh in our handis the lyverent thairof wes onlye disponit to the Quene our derrest bedfallow with express reservatioun of the fie and heretage to our said traist cousing and his airis, as the procuratorye accepted and subscryved be thair ambassadouris then present heir testife[is].

Conforme to the quhilk in a parliament haldin be ws at that same tyme the said loirdschip of Mussilburcht wes excepted furth of the annexatioun of the remanent landis of the abbacie of Dumfermeling to our crowne with expres declaratour that it suld nevir be annexit thairto, bot remane with our derrest spous in lyverent and, eftir hir deceis, with our said traist cousing his airis and assignayis in fie and heretage.[2] Nochtwithstanding quharof be a new infeftment to be made of the abbacye of Dumfermeling to our derrest bedfallow be resignatioun of
Pitcarne younger of Forthair,[3] our said traist cousing is not onlie to be prejugeit, the same cutting away his fie and heretage, bot lyikwyis the teindis of Inneresk intrometted with and disponed upoun this present yeir be our derrest

[1] Morning gift, or day after the wedding. See *New English Dictionary*; cf. *Marriage of James VI.*, ix. n.

[2] See *A.P.S.*, iv. 24.

[3] On 7 March 1593-4 the Queen received a Great Seal charter of the lands of the temporality of Dunfermline on the resignation of Henry Pitcairn. The grant was made to the Queen and her heirs, whom failing, to the heirs of the Crown, and included the lordship of Musselburgh, which had been excepted as above.

bedfallowis chalmerlane; quhilk bringes our promese sa solemplye made and handwrit in questioun. Quhilk all being declared and dilated at lenth, ye sall deale ernestlie with the King and Quene our derrest brother and mother that expres commissioun and charge may be gevin to sic as thai sall direct heir for assisting the baptisme amanges other headis of thair instructionis to declair to the Quene our derrest bedfallow and hir counsallouris that the securitye made alreddy of the loirdschip of Mussilburgh to our derrest bedfallow upoun our said traist cousingis resignatioun and acceptatioun of the ambassadouris then present heir is sufficient and neidis not to be altered in ony sort, and that na forder nor her lyverent be craved of the saidis landis.

As lyikwise that the teindis of Inneresk be restored agane to our said traist cousing that our solempne promese and handwrit be not ineffectuall and broken, quharby he wes onlye induced to mak resignatioun thairof, his securitye being sa gude and frie frome all quarrelling be law. Quhilk we dout not thai sall find maist equitable, having dew consideratioun of the premissis and how neare in honour we are twitched thairby.

Ye sall thairwithall declair that our said cousing being the cheifest officer of our estate, of quhais faithfull and maist notable service we have had large pruif (as of ane quha being baith maist habill and lyikwyis carying greatest affectioun thairto) deserved in that respect to have bene forder recompenced, it wilbe thocht strange be all to quhome he is sa weil knawin that we suld suffer him in ony sort be prejugeit, speciallye remembering his sa voluntare resignatioun done be nane other nochtwithstanding of his maist undouted rycht. And seing eftir our choyse made, and experience had, we have found him of sufficiencye alwyis onlye and maist worthy that place he occupyis, ye sall desyre thame in lyke sort to advise the Quene our derrest bedfallow to conceave that gude opinioun of him quhilk we ar assured he maist justlie deservis, being na lesse readye and willing to be imployed in anye effairis concerning her nor our awin, quhilk culd be bettir ad-

vanced be his meanes nor ony utheris, nochtwithstanding of quhatsumevir misreportis without ather ground or probabilitye quhilk nevir culd be tryed other nor mere calumnyes and suggestionis of evill disposed and wicked persones.

Ye sall lyikwyis signifie to our said derrest brother in particular and his counsall in generall that we ar informed be our trusty counsallour Williame Stewart Commendatare of Pettinweme, that it hes pleasit him to crave be his letters that commissioun to be randerit, quhilk our said counsallour ressavit frome his umquhile father of worthie memorye in recompance of his honest and faithfull services done to him and his cuntrie thair. And seing our said counsallour caryes na lesse gud dispositioun to the continewance of his dewtifull affectioun in the avancement of quhatsumevir our said derrest brotheris maist honorable adois nor heirtofoir he hes without feir of parrell or respect of panis with testimonye of fidelitie and report of honour verry worthelie schawin, ye sall maist ernestlie crave siclyke the continewance of our said derrest brotheris favour towartis him, quhais meritis towartis baith the realmes craves rather ane greater recompance then anye disgrace, quhilk, gif it proceid of anye caus deserving the same, to be maid notour lyikwyis to ws that we may resent ws of our particulare interest quhilk we may have in quhatsumevir thing can tuitche our said derrest brother; gyf otherwyis it hath growen upoun anye opinioun grounded on sinister informationis, that ye preas be all meanis to assure the contrair and restore him (gif neid beis) to the integritie of that same quhilk we have found by experience he justlie deservis, quhome of presentlie we mak no less accompt than of him quha is abill to do ws baith als agreable and acceptabill service as anye other quhatsumevir and quhais affectioun aucht rather to be intertenyit than in anywyis neglectit and he to be disgraced.

[*Endorsed*] Instructions for M^r^ Peter Young. The ambassage, 1594.

Copy, 2¾ pp. Vol. A, 113.

LXXVII

Memoranda for M^r^ George Young

17 April 1594.

The kingis instructionis written with his own hand the 17 of April *anno* 1594.

See No. VII, Parts II, V, IX.

II

Complaints about Bothwell and of complicity of Zouche. Change in English attitude towards Bothwell after birth of the Prince. Allegation that Bothwell had covenanted to kidnap the Prince and hand him over to England. Enquiries as to nature and amount of Danish support if James should have further trouble from England.

V

Abstract of instructions to Sir Peter Young. To invite King Christian to be represented at the baptism. To request him to intercede with Queen Anne on behalf of Thirlestane in the matter of Musselburgh. Colonel Stewart's affairs.

IX

(*a*) Memorandum of occurrents relating to Bothwell, 1593-1594, showing his contumacy, and exposing his trafficking with Spain and insincerity in religion. (*b*) Item: anent the three Catholic Earls. (*c*) Miscellaneous matters relating to Queen's lordship and household.

LXXVIII

Instructions to our trusty and weilbeloved James Colvill of Eistervemys, directed be us to our dearest brother and cousing the King of France and Navarre.

Edinburgh Apryl 1594.

April 1594.

Efter ye have presented our hartyest commendations and letters to the King of France and Navarre our dearest brother and cousing, ye shall declair unto him that the great desyre we have allwayes caryed to the intertenement and encresse of a firme amitye and mutuall gud intelligence betuixt ws (according to that maist auntient league contracted and inviolablie observed at all tymes heirtofore betuixt that croun and our umquhile predicessouris) hes moved ws to seik be all meanes the occasions quhairby to notefye our sa gud affectioun towardis him, quhilk falling out now to our wishe in that it hes pleased God to blisse ws with the birth of a young sone, we have made choyse of you (weill knawin for your affectioun to baith our services) to impert to him sic newes as we ar assured wilbe vearye acceptable, and thairwithall to invite him be sic as he shall please direct to assist the baptisme appointed to nixtocum.

Ye shall likewise in our name congratulat to his lait happye and prosperous successe [1] quhilk hes bene advertised to our na lesse joy and gladnes then yf the like had happinned to our selfis, wishing unto him the continewance of Godis gud favour and assistance to the accomplishment of the rest of his heroik and princelye desyres to the randering of his subjectis to thair dew obedience and acknawledgment of him thair only and naturall sovereyne as appertenis.

Ye shall also signifye to our said dearest brother with what earnest desyre we ar contented (having understand the like in him be a letter send to ws) to have that maist auntient league contracted betuixt our umquhill predicessouris of gud memorye thair crownes and estates renewed and confirmed in maist suire and stratest forme in all poyntis and articles of the same with additioun of quhat forder shalbe thought necessare to be capitulated. Quhilk

[1] Henry IV. was crowned King of France at Chartres on 27 February, and entered Paris on 22 March 1594. (*C.M.H.*, iii. 662.)

may be done be sic as shalbe authorized with sufficient commissioun frome ws to that effect.

Ye shall deale in lyke sort that the cumpanye of men of armes of this natioun for service there (the chairge quhairof being gevin to you of befoir is now ratefeit be ws) may be restored agane [1] and have thair auntient intertenement.

Yf before your returne thair the king our dearest brother and the house of Guyse be not perfytlie accordit, quhilk is travelling, as we heare, by the mediatioun of sic as affectes thair concord, we have thought meit likewise to direct you to deale with our cousingis the Dukis of Guyse and Mayne [2] remonstring to thame frome ws how desyrous we ar to have thame to acknawledge thair naturall Prince, quhairunto yf thay can be moved at our requeist we will maist earnestlye interpone the same be you. And seing it hes pleased God to divolve the just right and tytle of that croun in the persone of our dearest brother, quha we doubt not shall have sic consideratioun of thame as thair qualityes and rankes shall merite, thair obedience randerit to him, besydis that it shall procuire no small honour to thame selfis, the cuntrey shalbe thairby greatlie benefited and that troubled state pacifyed.

Ye shall likewise mak diligent inquyrie of the estate of the Quene our umquhile dearest mothers debtes and revenues thair, and upon tryell had thairof to report to ws the verye case, that being made acquented with the trueth and certantye, resolutioun may be taken in quhat sort processe shalbe intended and other ordour taine quhilk shalbe thought requisit, seing the saim maist justlye appertens unto us. Because of the great damnage sustened be some merchantis of this realme using thair traffique and lawfull tred in the tyme of weir, ye shall deale earnestlye

[1] Cf. No. XXXVII. Efforts were also made during the following ten years to reconstruct the Scots Guards. (Forbes-Leith, *Scots Guards in France*, i. 109.)

[2] Mayenne did not make terms with the King till September 1595, but Guise and most of the Leaguers began to treat after Henry had entered Paris. (*C.M.H.*, 662-668.)

for redresse and satisfaction to be made to thame for thair losses, and in case of refusall that letters of repreysales be graunted seing, as we understand, thay had warrand and protectioun of baith the partyes.[1]

Ye shall travell earnestlye for the Bishop of Glasgo his restitutioun *ad integrum* in all he wes dispossest,[2] quhais gud affectioun to our umquhile dearest mothers service and the like we are persuaded he caryis to our selfis merites to be remembered in quhatsoevir favour our recommendatioun can procuere to him.

Copy, 1¾ pp. Vol. A, 111.

LXXIX

James VI. to the States-General of the United Provinces

[*c.* 5 May 1594.]

The bond of a common religion has caused him to send Sir William Keith and Captain William Murray to announce the birth of an heir, and to invite them to send a representative to the baptism. He includes them among his best friends, along with France, Denmark, and England, and begs credence for his envoys.

Messieurs, puis que la conformité et maintenance de la mesme relligion demande volontiers un ferme entretien d'une

[1] Henry assured James that justice should be done, and restitution promptly made, and on 20 March 1594-5 the Privy Council exonerated Colville of Easter Wemyss, because he had 'faithfully executed his commission' in the matter of ratifying the ancient privileges and liberties of the Scots, especially of the merchants. (*P.C.*, v. 216-217; *Les Ecossais en France*, ii. 127.) He was, however, still negotiating the commercial agreement in 1596. See *Records of Convention of Royal Burghs*, i. 481, 482, etc.

[2] Cf. No. X, p. 67. The Archbishop of Glasgow was restored in 1598 to his Scottish 'honours, dignities, and benefices, in consideration of his services abroad to the late Queen and to his Majesty,' but the restoration was 'very partial in its effects.' (*P.C.*, v. 464; *A.P.S.*, iv. 169-170; *Bishops of Scotland*, 351.) After the death of Mary he was an adherent of the Spanish faction in France. (See *Les Ecossais en France*, ii. 134-137.) Henry promised to grant this request for his restitution. (*Ibid.*, 127; cf. 137.)

mutuelle intelligence et amitie entre tous ceulx qui font profession dicelle, nous avons bien vouleu a ceste cause envoier devers vous ces deulx gentils hommes Guiliaum Keith chevalier [1] de l'ordre nostre bien amé connsellier et gentilhomme de nostre chambre, et capitaine Guiliaulm Murray prevost de nostre ville de Saincte André,[1] avec charge entre autres choses de vous faire entendre combien il a pleu à Dieu tout puissant de nous benir d'un rejetton pour continuer apres nous l'ancienne paix et mutuelle amitie entre les deux estats. Nous asseurant qu'il vous sera tres agreable, pour l'interest que vous y pouvez avoir; nous vous avons mis au rang de noz meillieurs amys et confederez de la France Dennemark et Angletere; en vous priant d'envoier devers nous quelq'un de vostre part pour tesmoigner son baptesme,[2] qui sera, Dieu aidant, au xv [3] de Juillet prochain, et congratuler avec nous du tant de bien et contentement que d'orésenavant par sa grace en ce nous pourons recevoir. Et si en quelque autre chose l'occasion se presente de vous tesmoigner combien nous avons chere vostre amitie nous la prendrons tres volontiers et tascherons par tous moyens de faire chose qui vous soit d'autant agreable. Nous asseurant donques que lesdicts sieurs s'en acquitteront fidellement suyvant l'instruction que leurs en avons baille, nous vous prions le croire de ce qu'ils vous diront de nostre part comme nous mesmes; priant Dieu, Messieurs, qu'il vous ait en sa tressaincte garde a jamais

De nostre palais de .

Draft, ¾ p. Vol. B, 474.

[1] Written in margin.

[2] Two ambassadors were sent. They made a circumstantial 'relation' of the events of their embassy. (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 154-174.) The writer of the *Historie of King James the Sext* inserts the 'substantious monument' sent by the Estates on the occasion of the Prince's baptism. 'It was gevin,' he tells us, 'in a coffer of golde, for a testemonie of thair forder benevolence towart the King the prince and the cuntrie.' (p. 335.) Moysie states that the Flemish gift was worth £12,400, 'togither with v^{m} leiveris yeirlie to the prence.' (*Memoirs*, 119.)

[3] Altered from 'au mois.'

LXXX

May 1594.

Instructions to our trusty and weilbeloved counsallour Sir William Keith of Delneis knight gentleman of our chambre, and Captain Williame Murray [1] of , Provest of our toun of St. Androis, Ambassadouris directed be us toward the Generall Estates of the United Provinces in the Low Countreyis. Frome Striveling Castell the of May [2] 1594.

After presenting of our hartyest commendations and letter of credit to the counsale of the estates assembled, ye shall declaire that upon some occasions offered (particularlye to be remembered heirafter) we have made speciall choyse of you, upon trust had of your experienced fidelitye and sufficiencye allwayes to be imployed.[3]

1. And first ye shall signifie that, it having pleased God amangis his other benifites to blisse ws with the wished successioun of our awin bodye in the birth of a young sone, quhilk furneshing matter of commoun rejoysing to all Princes and Estates standing with us in straict amitye and freindship wes (we doubt not) advertised to thair no small

[1] William Murray of Pitcarleis. See *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*.

[2] Originally written *April*. On 3 May Privy Council passed an act in favour of Sir William Keith, on the eve of his embassy to Flanders. (*P.C.*, v. 144.)

[3] From this point the document is divided into heads; but they do not follow in strict sequence. The scheme is:

1. Paragraph in full.
2. Line left blank.
3. Paragraph in full.

} fo. 109.

4. Paragraph in full.
5. Line left blank.
6. Half of paragraph.
Conclusion.

} fo. 109v.

2. Paragraph in full.
5. Paragraph in full.
Remainder of paragraph 6.

} fo. 110.

They have here been transcribed in their natural numerical sequence.

joy and congratulatioun, of quhais gud will and affectioun having assured our selfes, and willing to utter our alyke kyndlie dispositioun caryed towardis thame, we have thought convenient be you to entreat thame, be sic as thay shall please imploy in thair name to assist the baptisme, appointed to the xv day of Julij nixtocum. Quhilk being a most singulare testificatioun of our loving affectioun in making choyse of thame to be matched with sic other Princes and Potentates as ar likewise invited, we doubt not shalbe remembered be thame accordinglye with the continewance of a reciproc amitye and sic entier gud will as thay may rest assured of on our pairt.

2. Ye shall nixt schaw unto the saidis Estates that remembering the treateis of peax amitye and freindship contracted betuixt our umquhill predicessouris of gud memorye, the Emperour Charles the fyft etc. and others having reule over they Provinces quhilk thay now posses, we are moved with na lesse earnest desyre then any our maist noble antecessouris not onlye to observe and confirme quhatsoever treatese and league past of before (in the particulers quhairof we remit yow to the informatioun and extractis to be had out of our register), bot likewise to renew the same in all claussis and articles, with additioun of quhat forder shalbe thought expedient to be capitulated betuixt ws, quhilk may be done be sic as shalbe authorized with full power and commissioun frome ws to that effect.

3. Ye shall likewise call to thair rememberance that having imployed the last yeare Coronell Stewart in some commissioun to thame, amangis other heades gevin him in chairge our desyre wes in respect of the conjunctioun in the reformed trew Religioun, the freindship inviolablie observit betuixt ws, and other commoun interestis quhilk might move sic as professes the evangell, thair should be a reciproc gud intelligence frome tyme to tyme interteneyed betuixt ws in all matters concerning Religioun, or tuiching the estate of ather of ther countreyis. To the quhilk by thair answers returned be the said Coronell we were not only assured of thair frank concurrence and readye dis-

positioun to the intertenement of a mutuall intelligence, bot likewise of thair willing offer of all courtesye and plesour in quhatsoever thay might be stedable unto ws; for the quhilk ye shall in our name rander thame our most hartye thankes, with assurance of sic gud acquitall on our part as apparteanes, quhilk we shalbe na lesse willing then readye to geve at all occasions, quhairof they may rest fullye persuadit.

4. Ye shall thairwithall declair how acceptable the lait imployment of ADRIAN DAMMAN [1] to reside as thair agent in this realme has bene unto ws, quha being recommendit be thair maist courtess letter (testifeing the continewance and encresse of that affectioun caryed toward ws) and so weill knawin to ws in particular of before, shalbe so weill used in all respectis as thame selfis can wishe and shalbe requisite allwayes for the better continewance and nourishing of a firme amitye and mutuall gud intelligence betuixt ws and the saidis Estates.

5. Ye shall also signifye to the saidis Estates that it is not unknawin unto ws quhat yearlye commoditye is reaped be the fisching in our seas neir to the Iles of Orknay and Zetland,[2] quhilk we have hitherto tollerated without stay or impediment, knawing the previledge thairof to be graunted be our umquhile predicessouris amangis other heades of the treatise upon some conditions (as ye shall likewise be informed be the extractis to be had furth of our register), quhairof ye shall in our name crave the performance, and that we may be acknawledgit accordinglye; quhilk being aggreable to equitye and reason we doubt not shalbe respected be thame to our contentment and satisfaction.

[1] Adrian Damman was appointed Agent of the United Provinces at the Scottish Court in January 1593-4. He won the favour of James, married a Scotswoman, and was still acting as Agent in 1602. (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 148 and n.; Rooseboom, *Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, 127-128.) See also the references to him in vol. vi. of the *Balcarres Papers* in National Library of Scotland.

[2] This complaint was renewed by the Earl of Orkney to the ambassadors who were present at the baptism. (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 166.)

6. Ye shall likewise remember the saidis Estates how by our permissioun and leave obteaned a great number of our subjectis have in thair service expendit thair lyves, quhairof sic as yit remanis under thair chairge employed as thay think maist expedient to thair daylie hazard, compleaning of thair evill usage and delay of payment, quhairwith we ar not a lytill moved, ye shall thairwithall maist instantlie desire in our name, that rekning being made with the haill capitanes and commanders thay may ressave sic full satisfactioun of the sowmes restand unpayit, as baith thair faithfull services hes merited, and our interponed requeist be you (quhilk we luik shalbe effectuall) may procure unto thame. And in particular to recommend unto thame Capitane Alexander Wishart [1] according to that informatioun he shall deliver unto you.

Yf efter propositioun heirof ye ressave not sic answer as shalbe to the contentment and satisfactioun of the said capitanes in thair pay, ye shall then in our name declair that upon urgent occasionis offerit of imployment of sic cumpanyes as be thair trayning up in they partes have atteaned to a greater perfectioun in service nor others of lesse experience in this countrey, we ar desyrous to have thame revoked and transported to this realme for thair sic imployment heir as shalbe thought be ws expedient. Bot in deliverye heirof ye shall use your self according to our directioun and, except thair be great necessitye, not to propone the same.[2]

The accidentis falling out heir of late, quhairof your selfe being eye witnessis can best report the trueth, with quhatsoever elles thay shalbe curious to questioun you upon, we remit to your faithfull relatioun.

Probably a draft, $2\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Vol. A, 109.

[1] Cf. No. XLIII. Captain Alexander Wishart was an officer of cavalry. The States-General did consider his 'request,' but remitted it to the proper authority, as being 'une chose particulière quy ne touche aux Estats.' (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 150, 151.)

[2] There is no record that they were necessitated 'to propone the same.'

LXXXI

6 May 1594.

Copie of John Oig his depositiones anent the murthur of the Laird of Cadell and conspiracie aganis the erll of Argyle.

Johnne Campbell of Calbrachane his depositiones, being sworne and examinat upon the cruell and detestable murthur of umquhill Johnne Campbell of Caddell [1] and pretendit conspiracie eftir mentionatt faithfullie gevin up be his awin mowth speking in presence of ws commissionaris and notaris underwrettin. At Inchchonnell the sext day of Maii anno 1594.

The said Johnne being sworne as said is, having protestit for remissioun to be gevin him at the handis of Johnne Campbell of Caddell, his broder and sisteris and remanent kin and freindis for airt pairt foir knawledge and conceling of his umquhill faderis murthur, and also for concealing of the conspiracie eftir mentionat, devisit aganis the erll of Argyll for his wrak and destructioun, of his awin frie motive will, uncoactit or compellit deponis as followis:

In the first deponis that Johnne Campbell of Ardkinglas being at ane conventioun in Dunnolicht with McClane, McCowill and certane utheris the xx day of November or thairby lxxxxj yeris, the said Johnne Campbell having sent for the deponar upoun the morne eftir the conventioun,

[1] Sir John Campbell, Thane of Cawdor, one of the guardians of the young Earl of Argyle. 'It is said to have been through jealousy of his holding that office that the Thane was murdered in 1592.' Ardkinglass, also a guardian, 'became jealous of the superior influence of Cawdor in the management of the Earldom, and perhaps bore a grudge on account of the affairs of the Isles. . . . Partly from these motives, partly, perhaps, instigated by malcontents of his clan who had joined the league of which Huntly was the chief, and one fruit of which was the slaughter of the bonny Earl of Moray at Donybristle, Ardkinlas undoubtedly planned, and apparently superintended the murder of Cawdor.' (*The Thanes of Cawdor*, 208, 209.) See also *Papers relating to the Murder of the Laird of Calder* in *Highland Papers*, vol. i. (Scot. Hist. Society).

quha than come to him and thaireftir the samin day past with Ardkinglas to Dunstafniche, quhair thay remanit that nicht. And the deponar being lying in the bed with Ardkinglas he declarit to the deponar that he could not breuk Scotland gif the Laird of Cadell breukit his liffe, and desirit him thairfoir as ane of his speciall freindis not onlie to assist him bot also tuik him sworne to keip counsall, quhilk he than promesit, albeit he refusit to be the actuall doar himselff. And for accomplesing of that ungodlie deid he than appointed for that work Gillipatrik oig McKellar, Gillimartein his broder and umquhill Duncane Campbell broder to Johne Campbell of Auchintollin. And for the mair verificatioun desirit the deponar to send him the said Gillemartein McKellar to Dunnone quhair the Laird of Cadell wes for the tyme to the effect foirsaid. And the said Gillimartein thaireftir at the desire of the laird of Ardkinglas and with Ardkinglas awin boy past to Dounone quhair he and the said umquhill Duncane Campbell awatit thre or four dayis upon the murthur of the laird of Cadell privelie under the castell wall of Dinnone.

Item: the deponar having tane his leve of the erll of Ergyle and the laird of Ardkinglas his maister, being than passand to Irland the xx day of Decembar or thairby *anno* lxxxxj yeris, he thair eftir returnit agane frome Lesmoir to the place of Ardkinglas quhair he spak with the laird, quha schew him that he had aggreit with Gilpatrik oig Mckellar to schuitt and murthur the laird of Cadell and for his reward had gevin him the half of Ardrie, and promesit to geve him the officiarie efter the deceis of Johnne Makewin Makpatrik quha presentlie possessis the samin.

Item: the deponar declaris upon his saull and conscience that Gillepatrik oig having cumin to him to Ardintallin, being than upon his jornay to Irland, the said Gillepatrik oig, being taking his leve fra him, the deponar desirit him to desist fra the murthuring of the laird of Cadell, quhilk he had tane on hand ofbefoir, becaus thair wald cum no guid of it, and he promesit so to do, and yit kepit not his promeis: for eftir the deponaris turning owt of Irland, the said Gillepatrik oig declarit to him that he had

schott the laird of Cadell throw the bodie with the laird of Ardkinglas reid stokit hagbutt, quhilk wes gevin sen syne be Ardkinglas to the provest of Kilmond and now is possessit be Mr George Erskin. And to that takin the said Gillipatrik confessit to the deponar that the bullettis wes owir passand [1] for the hagbutt and he behuiffit to chow thame.

Item: deponis that the laird of Ardkinglas eftir the deponaris returning from Irland schew him that he causit Gillipatrik oig Mckellar, schuit the laird of Cadell throw the body with Ardkinglas awin hagbutt quhilk is reidstokkit and deliverit sen syne be him to the provest of Kilmond, as said is, and desirit him as ane of his speciall freindis upon quhais secrecie he dependit maist of ony manis to keip counsall and newir to revele the samin to ony man. And to the takin he convenit the deponar, Gillipatrik oig Mckellar, Gillimartyne his broder, and the said umquhill Duncane Campbell in his awin hous in Ardkinglas, and thair he causit thame sweir to him (the halie ewangell twichit) and under the pane of perjurie and defamatioun newir to revele the samin salang as thay wer quik, and this wes ane of the caussis that movit the deponar to keip the samin salang clois. And the secund caus wes, that he luiffit the laird of Ardkinglas best of ony man levand, and held maist of him.

And being inquirit quha wes upon the counsall of this murthour, declaris that he knawis nane presentlie bot the laird of Ardkinglas him selff, the said umquhill Duncane Campbell, *Gillipatrik oig, the actuall doar, Johnne his sone and Gillimartyne broder to the said Gillipatrik* [2] (Thir thre execut in Dynnone the fift of Julij 1594)[2], and the deponar him selff. And that the sadis personis had speciall charge and directioun from the laird of Ardkinglas quhair evir thai or ony of thame mycht commodiouslie apprehend the laird of Cadell to slay him secreitlie in maner foirsaid. And to this effect thay awatit upon him in all places quhair

[1] owir passand=too large.

[2] Inserted in margin. The words in italics are underlined in the original.

thay micht convenientlie for his slawchtter quhill in the end thay gat the same done.[1]

As concerning the interprise aganis the erll of Ergyle his person and estait, the deponar declaris thair is ane contract subscrivit betuix the erll of Huntlie, the laird of Glenurquhy, Archibald Campbell of Lochinzell,[2] James Campbell youngar of Laweris and certane utheris of the name of Campbellis, at the leist sum of the erll of Ergyles vassallis quhais names ar not necessar to be expressit presentlie, quhairin ather of thame is bund to concur with utheris *hinc inde* for the erll of Ergyle his wrak and destructioun. This contract, being subscrivit be the foirsadis personis, eftir the murthur of the erll of Murray and the laird of Cadell [3] wes directit be the personis subscryveris foirsadis with Mr Johnne Archibald to the laird of Ardkinglas to have bein subscrivit be him, quha than refusit to subscrive the samin,[4] and yit detenis the samin in his handis, and to the takin it is presentlie in the custodie and keping of Awlay Makkawlay of Ardincapill in his hous thairof in ane kist quhilk the deponar knawis and offeris him to do his exact diligence to get the samin to the erll of Ergyle, he sendand ane reasonable number of his awin servandis with

[1] In February 1591-2. (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, I. part ii. 391.)

[2] Lochinzell=Lochnell.

[3] It appears from the confession of Ardkinglass, in June 1594, that the parties to the 'Great Contract,' including the Chancellor, bound themselves 'to travell be all means to cut of and slay' Argyle, his brother, the Earl of Moray and John Campbell of Calder. (*Highland Papers*, i. 184-185; cf. Tytler, ix. 161-162.) On 1 July he revoked his earlier confession and declared 'that thair wes never sic ane Contract maid or menit, but only inuentioun inuentit to eschew the trouble that might follow on me for Calderis slauchter.' (*Thanes of Cawdor*, 209.) It is perhaps impossible to discover the truth behind so many contradictory and obscure statements. The trial of Ardkinglass was never concluded. (*Ibid.*, 212. See also Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, I. part ii. 391-392; Calderwood, v. 253.)

[4] Gregory states that 'some time elapsed after the perpetration of this murder before the share which Ardkinlass had in it was certainly known,' and that he, becoming afraid of the consequences of his crime, refused 'to become a party to any designs against the life of the Earl, proposing to make his peace with Argyle by disclosing the full extent of the plot.' (*History of Western Highlands and Islands*, 251.)

him to that effect. And he trowis quhenewir it beis producit it salbe fund the maist filthie and abominable contract that ewir wes maid in Ergyle (*Reddit causam scientie*). Becaus the laird of Ardkinglas declarit to the deponar the having of it in maner foirsaid owt of his awin mowth, and sen the tyme of his wairding within this place send him word that quhidder the deponar or Ardkinglas him self wer first stratit be tortour anent Cadellis murthur, the contract suld be reddy to releve athir of thame owt of that strait, for the laird of Ardkinglas wes ewir and yitt is of the opinioun that be publissing of this contract he suld pacifie the erll of Ergyle anent Cadellis murthur, quhairof he perswadit the deponar certanlie.[1]

And ferder deponis that the having of this contract in Ardkinglas keping wes and yit is the onlie caus and awband[2] quhilk movit Glenurquhy and the rest of the subscryvaris to stand his guid freindis not onlie anent Cadellis murthour bot in the rest of his actiones. And gif the laird of Ardkinglas will deny the having of the said contract and will not deliver it to the erll of Ergyle, he offerris to prove the samin in his presens and befoir ony Judge or Judgis spirituall or temporall within this realme, providing that the Erll of Ergyle his cheif and maister and the Laird of Cadell assist manteine and defend him aganis his inemeis and sik as will now persew his life and heritage for reveling of so heich and detestable ane murthur alredie committit, and conceling of so heich ane conspiracie to follow, and likwise that thay advance him with sik rowmes and possessiones as may be him ane life. And siclike maist humilie cravis his cheif and the Laird of Cadell his bredir sisteris and honorabill freindes to remitt him the foirknawledge and conceling of the said detestable murthur and als to obtein his Majesteis remissioun therupoun, for the quhilk he faithfullie promittis be the faith and trewth of his bodie to be ane afauld servand to his cheiff and to the

[1] The widow of John Oig corroborated her husband's statement. She has a strange story to tell of family feud, conspiracy, and witchcraft. (*Highland Papers*, i. 159-178.)

[2] awband, aweband=a check or restraint.

Laird of Cadell and his honorabill freindes aganis all personis in tyme cuming. In witnes quharof he hes with his hart and hand subscrivit this his confessioun in maner following, day yeir and place foirsaid. *Sic subscribitur.*

Johnne Campbell of Calbrachane with my hand on the pen led be the notaris underwrettin.

Ita est Dowgallus McArthure notarius clericus vicecomitatus de Ergyle ac unus commissariorum electorum ad effectum prescriptum testante hoc meo chirographo.

Ita est Jacobus Kincaid connotarius in premissis ac unus commissariorum electorum ad effectum prescriptum testante hoc meo chirographo.

Mr. D. Campbell, Witnes.

Copy, 3¼ pp. Vol. A, 89.

LXXXII

Instructions to our trusty and weilbeloved counsalour Sir Richard Cokburne of Clerkingtoun knycht our Secretary Principall directed be us towards our darrest cousing and sister the Queen of England.[1]

[*c.* 24 July 1594.]

After our hartyest commendations and letters presented to our dearest sister and cousine the Queen of England, ye shall in our name declare that having resolved the sending of some one towardis her efter the ending of our lait parliament, als weill to signifye the full discharge of our promese upon sic proceadeur thairin as wes advertised (we doubt not) to her good lyking and contentment against the Papistis and excommunicat lordes,[2] as likewise

[1] On 24 July the Privy Council made an assignation of £1000 to Clerkington for the costs of his embassy to England. (*P.C.*, v. 156.)

[2] Angus, Huntly, Errol, Auchindoun and others were excommunicated by the Synod of Fife in September 1593. The Synod claimed to have competence because those of them who had been students at St. Andrews had been in 'communioun and fellowship' with the Kirk, while Angus and Errol, having married within the province of Fife, had 'professed with these kirks wherein they were maried.' (Calderwood, v. 267.)

to impart to her our resolut intention and earnestenes for thair forder prosecution be all way of deid and hostilitye without pretermissioun of any occasion and with all celeritye possible, we have tharefore now made choyse of you, whase suddane depeshe is motioned upon discoverye of some new intendit practizes threatning no small dainger to Religion, both our states, and disquyeting of the wholle yle, yf the same be not substantiously obviat and tymouse remede provydit thairunto.[1]

And first of all ye shall lay before our said dearest sister that (we doubt not) as she hes allwayes hitherto most carefully adverted to the plattes and projectis of the Catholiques (who being led allwayes with one spirite ceasses not frome tyme to tyme to continew thair most cruell and ungodlye desseinges), her watchefull eye hes now likewise taken up thair violent intendit course, and be what meanes and instrumentis thay travell to bring the same to some tragicall end and execution, yf God (who continually watcheth over his awin) stirre not up Princes professing his veritye and trueth to resist thair crueltye, to the disappointing of thair godlesse purposes as of before.

That the Papistis and apostat lordis in this realme being not long since encouraged with the cumming of letters and intelligence to thame have be thair insolent behaviour uttered what thay expected, and of late the arryvell of Mr. James Gordoun and some other practizing Jesuitis as is thought, at leist straingers,[2] bringes thame assurance

[1] A reference to the menace made by the Catholic Lords and 'young Bonnyton' at Aberdeen, where a Spanish ship had arrived on 16 July. The citizens took it as prize, but were forced to deliver the 'strangers' upon pain of prosecution 'both with fire and sword, and all other kinde of hostilitie.' This breach of the peace caused James to take steps to proceed 'against the rebells,' for political as well as religious reasons. (Calderwood, v. 340-341; Moysie, 118.) See also *C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. 655.

[2] Mr. James Gordon, Huntly's uncle, was one of the 'jesuites and papistis' who were in the Spanish ship. 'He him selff with twa or thrie start out of the schip in the nicht, with theare packettis and vtheris thingis they brocht with thame.' (Moysie, 118.) The money that came was sent from the Papal Treasury, as appears from an acknowledgment signed by Father Gordon, dated 5 August 1594. (Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, trans. D. O. Hunter Blair, vol. III. Appendix IV.).

of forces and prese[nt] money, wherewithall being aydit with assistance of sic thair favorers and other mer . . .[1] (whase avaritious hartes may be easalye corrupted to shake off thair duetye and alledge[ance] to ws) it is greatly to be feared that the trouble and insurrection hable to be made thairby shall not easalye be suppressed without dew prevention and tymouse remedyes used.

The great perrils and dainger imminent being dilated and exaggerat in sic sort as ye can best, and thairwithall Bothuell his privye reconciliation with the Papistis and excommunicat lordis[2] (quha will not faill to joyne alltogether in that wicked course as of before) ye shall then propone the remedes in our opinion metest to be applyit, whilk shalbe mair easye yf tyme be gayned and opportunity taken nor be delayes in suffering thame to tak langer progresse then more difficill to be put in execution.

Ye shall thairfore call to our said dearest sisters remembrance a first motion about a foir yeares since or thareby frome ws, found good and allowed be interposition of her good advyse and concurrence, whilk gave occasion of the imployment of Coronell Stewart and M[r] Jo. Skeyne to some Princes of Germanye professouris of the trew Religion to have compassed be thair mediation ane conjunct legation for aggrement and reconciliation amangis all other Princes betuixt whome thair standis contraversye or quarrell.[3] Quhilk being found impossible to be effectuat, it wes thought meit recourse should be had to a second, to wit, a contreleague and band als well offensive as defensive to be made betuixt sic Princes and estates as be conjunctioun

[1] Destroyed. The page is partly torn along the right-hand margin, but the word is probably 'merchantis.'

Calderwood writes, under date October 1592, that 'the merchants that traffiqued to Spaine bragged they would not desist from careing victuall to Spaine for anie censure of the kirk, and spread some infamous rymes and libells against the ministrie.' (v. 177.)

[2] The 'dealings with Bothwell to induce him to join with the Catholic Lords' were common report at this time (*C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. 654; cf. *H.P.*, iv. 530); but, according to Moysie (p. 119), 'sure word' of their co-operation did not reach the King until the middle of September.

[3] See No. XLIV.

in the trew Religioun and other respectis might be moved to resist the commoun enemy. That now thair is so good occasion offered as can be possible to insist and renew that intermitted dealing be arryvell of ambassadouris in this countrey frome some the same Princes and others luiked for shortlye, with whome we intend to travell be concurrence of sic as she shall please direct authorized with full power and commission to that effect, doubting na thing bot as the worke is both godly and necessare it shalbe advanced to the wishe and desyre of all to be benefyted thereby.

Ye shall thairwithall remember our said dearest sister that be syndrie ambassades and answeris returned be some of her awin imployed towardis ws, solliciting the repressing of the Papistis and stay of thair dangerouse courses (wherein our earnestnes and conformitye is sufficiently notifyit and knawin) our desire ever wes, the care being commoun and importing to the wholle yle, that our darrest sisters ayde and concurrence should enhable ws to that actioun, and seing na part is omitted allmost resting in ws and having of lait gevin so good and effectuall pruif that in our judgement all scrupull and jealousye is removed, we mon yet as of before insist and earnestlye sollicit be you the advancement of some sowmes of money to be imployed in the leveying and intertenement of forces als well to imped and stay the insurrection likely to be made in this realme speciallye in the north partes thairof, as likewyse the landing of straingers, upon whose arryvell thay not onlye depend bot apprehend more nor at ony tyme heirtofore.

Ye shall mak the lyke desire for some shippes weill equippaged to be set out toward that coist with sic convenient spede as may be, whilk may empeshe the landing of ony, and thairby not suffer thame joyne together. And as the greater haist and expedition is used in both, it shalbe so muche the more advantageouse and facilitat that with small expenssis and travell, quhilk being delayed will not be accomplished without greater difficulty and trouble.

Yf our remisnes and slak dealing in tymes past be objected unto you, whilk may move a diffidence and lesse

apprehensioun of future actions, ye shall answer that notwithstanding the earnest desyre we caryed allwayes to have our land purged of sic as hes made defection frome God his trew Religion and ws thair naturall soverayne and sometymes taken paines in our awin persone with omissioun of na thing lying in ws, although oft empeshed with Bothuel his practizes now joyned with thame, yet wes our travellis randerit ineffectual and throw lak of convenient forces and power to mo[ve] the rebelles to abandon that countrey quhair thair freindis and favorers ar of greatest commandement, wherewithall althought at syndrie tymes we made the Queen our dearest sister acquented yet could we never obtane any certantye nor sic honorable consideratioun to be had of ws as our desertes and gud behaviour merited, whilk frome tyme to tyme being divulgat to the enemyes thay were thairby not smally encouraged. Ye shall thairfore insist earnestlye that all former defectis may be at last supplyit and to draw the Queen our dearest sister to weyghe and examine aright the perrill and imminent dainger threatned to Religioun and both our states without suffering the enemyes to be forder animat and unrepressed, the just sentence and dome of forfaultour being already pronunced against thame. Quhilk all with the wholle circumstances of the present necessitye and tyme full of greater dainger then of before we remit to our dearest sisters wyser consideration, protesting allwayes of our sic sinceritye and zeale in this so godly a worke, as shall notifye to the wholle world our inward good meaning and frank disposition, luiking to find correspondence on the part of our dearest sister as the cause of Religion conservation of our estates and keping of the wholle yle frome the bloudy invasioun intendit craves at her handis.

Toward the assurance of imployment of the sowmes desired to no other use nor quhairunto thay ar destinat [1] ye shall promese so farre in our name as we have particularly instructed you. And in like sort that the capitanes

[1] There was a report that the money ' will not be used for the purpose intended.' (*C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. 655.)

and commanders of the forces to be imployed [1] shalbe knawen to affect the amitye and particularly devoted to the good course.[1] JAMES R.

Original, autograph signature, 2 pp. Vol. A, 411.

LXXXIII

Privat instructiouns to our trusty and welbelovit counsalour Sir R. Cokburne of Clerkingtoun Knycht our Secretary directed be ws in ambassage to our darrest sister and cousing the Quene of England. Edinburgh xxvij August 1594.

27 August 1594.

The Quenes promese to be remembered made be the Lord Zouche her ambassadour and Mr Bowes at dyvers tymes als privatlye as publicklye in counsell that how sone I entered in actioun against the Papistis (quhose prosecutioun thay urged) she wald have honorable consideratioun of ws, which promese the Lord Zouche termed a confort.

That I have alreadye entered in actioun in condamning thame be law [2] and am to prosecute be way of deid with all possible diligence and thairfore na langer driftis nor schiftis can be used for not fulfilling of the promese.

That the captanes and commanders of the forces shalbe sic as baith have already geven prove of thair service in cause of Religioun, and shall also be lyked off be all the sincerest professouris thairof and her awin ambassadour.

The quantitye of the support to be craved mon be drawin out of Sir Robert Melvill his instructions,[3] according to the quhilk ye mon use your self in that poynt.

That in case the Quene shift the delivery of support till first our prosecutioun be way of deid be begunne ye shall crave for encouraging ws to the beginning of that worke and removing of all kynd excuses of delay on our part at leist a small sowme presentlie, quhilk we luik for to be

[1] Altered from ' shalbe of our dearest sisters choyse and electioun.'

[2] In the Parliament in June 1594.

[3] See No. LXX.

thrie thousand lis. at leist. And thairefter quhen we ar entered in actioun in the boundis of the rebelles in persone that then, yf na soner can be had, her support in larger quantitye be sent unto ws seing then her full promese should be fulfilled and that tyme prefixed thairto.

That sic as hes accumpanyed Bothuell in his treasons be als weill hauldin out of that realme as him self according to the league and treatese of peax, and in speciall to remember Mr John Colvill his plaine dwelling and residence in Twedmouth.[1]

To shaw the Quene that we mervell what lyking she can have of Lokis service [2] who so oft hauntes her court, seing he hes ever bene ane avowed agent for Bothuell, and in our opinion it wilbe thought and interprete ane iniquitye in the Quene to punishe any of her subjectis for Bothuellis recept, as she hes oft promesed, and till allow or permit in her court his agent.

Toward that motioun to be made to all the ambassadouris, to schaw her that the estates of the Lowe Countreyes be thair letters have of late renewed it unto ws bot we have delayed the geving answer till we knaw her mynd, and have her advise interponed, whilk wald be returned before the ambassadouris depesche, sen the most part of Princes Ambassadouris professing the Religioun ar presentlie hier.

In the matter of support, yf notwithstanding of her mony promeses she will doe na thing, ye shall then excuse in our name quhatsoever calme course we wilbe compelled

[1] Mr. John Colville of Strathrudie, an accomplice of Bothwell in the raids of Holyroodhouse and Falkland, was denounced and forfeited with him for treason. (See references in *P.C.*, v. ; and *A.P.S.*, iii. and iv.) He wrote to Mr. Henry Lock from Tweedmouth on 10 August 1594 (*C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. 658) ; but was on the point of breaking with Bothwell and ' seeking with condign humility to impetrate his Majesty's favour, whom I have so meschantlie and presumptuously offended.' (*H.P.*, iv. 629.) A collection of his Letters is published by the Bannatyne Club.

[2] Henry Lock was an agent of Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil, and a relative of John Colville. In 1592 he ' had been sent down to Scotland with instructions to form a faction with the Kirk and the Protestant barons for Bothwell's restoration.' He was also implicated in the plots stirred up by Zouche. (Tytler, ix. 72, 128.)

to tak with the Papist lordis for weill of our estate, seing she can pretend na mair interest how we behave ourselfis with ony our subjectis yf she will not concurre with ws in a commoun cause to ws baith. Bot I houp she be not that unwyse as not to forsie according to the auld proverb, *Tum tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet*,[1] especiallie being kindled be commoun enemeis to ws baith.

JAMES R.

Original, autograph signature, 1¼ pp. Vol. A, 115.

LXXXIV

The relation of the pastyme and devyces used at the baptisme the 29 of [August, 1594]

29 August 1594.

The king purposing to decore by magnificence this actioun committis the chairge tharof to the lorde,[2] quha be his [3] industrie and inventioun and diligence brought it to the schew, quhilk the schortnes of tyme and other considerations culd permitt. So they having consulted togeather concluded these exercises that wer to be used for the decoratioun of that solem[nitie] wer to be devyded baith in feild pastymes and in house . . . The field to be used at tua dayes, the first to be of [thrie ?] Turks thrie Christians knights of Malta thrie Amazones and thrie Moors, bot be reasoun of the absence ar at leist the uncertene presence of the thre last gentlemen quha suld have susteaned these personages, it was thought gud that the number of that mask suld consist of nyne actours nyne pages and nyne laqueys, quhilk cumming fra sondry . . . and by dyvers tymes togeather with the diversetie of thair appa[rell] suld bring some noveltie to the behaldours. The

[1] This same 'proverb' was quoted in an anonymous letter 'cast in to the pulpit of the Great Kirk' of Edinburgh on 24 September 1592, to give 'premonition of a massacre.' (Calderwood, v. 175.)

[2] Altered from 'abbot of Lendors and Mr. William Foulis.'

[3] Originally, 'thair.'

place maist expedient for this action was the valey, quhilk being prepared for that usage baith in carrier [*sic*] and in sta . . . efter the repairing of her majestie with her honorabill ladye . . . togeather with the stranger embassadours the thrie christians entred the feild with sound of trumpet quhilk was besett by the harqubusiers of Edinburgh at that tyme. The king majestie the erle Mar and Thomas Ersking gentleman of his bed chalmer maid up this number. A little efter folloues thrie apparelled lyke Turks, weill cled and costlye, and these wer the Duik of Lennox, the lord Home and Sir Robart Ker. Last of all cum in the thrie amazones in wemens arrey and these wer the abbot of Halyrudhouse [1] the lard of Baclugh and the lord of Lendors.[2] So al the persons being present and at thair entrye makking thair reverence to the queen ambassadours and ladyes, having thair pages ryding upon ther led hors and on thair left armes bering thair maisteris imprese or devyse, and there lacqueys carying in their hands thair masters lances, they began thair pastyme be rinning at the ring, the lawes quharof wer these. First that all the persons of this pastyme compeir masked and in quhat ordour they cum in the feild, so to rin out all there courses. Secundlie, that nane use ane other ring bot that quhilk is putt up and use na other lance bot that quhilk they have brought for theme selfs. Thridlie, he that tuyse touches ring or tents it winns alsmeikill as gif he had caryed awey the ring. Fourtlye, he that lats his lance fall out of his hand is depryved of all the rest of his courses. Fyftlie, that everye ane rin with losse rinzes [3] and with als meikill speid as his hors hes. Saxlye, that nane after his race in uptakking of his hors ley his lance upon his shoulders under the paine of the tinsell of that

[1] John Bothwell.

[2] Sir Patrick Leslie. He assisted the King in planning the pageantry; and when the abbacy was erected into a temporal lordship in his favour in 1606, his expenses at the baptism were expressly included among his 'gude trew thankfull and proffitable services.' (Tytler, ix. 139; Colville, *Letters*, 112 n.; *A.P.S.*, iv. 355.)

[3] losse rinzes=loose reins.

that he hes done in his course. Sevintlye, he that caryes not his lance under his arme loseth his course. Auchtlye, that nane quhil his thrie courses ar ended chainge his hors gif he be not hurt or upon some other consideratioun moved to chainge him. The laues being sene be the actours and approved, the queenes majestie notefyed to thame that quhat syd of thame ran best suld have for his revaird a fair and a richte ring of dyamonds [1] and he also quho in that same syde had best fotioun [2] suld be alknouledged vith ane other als fair as the first. The proofe being geven, the victorie fell to the duik of Lennox, quha bringing it to his syd and partye had the prayse and pryce adjudged to him self. Thus first dayes pastyme being ended with great contentment to the beholders and commendatioun of the persones enterprysers, the second dayes pastyme was exceused be reason that the workmen wer employed in uther busines quha suld have falloued furth that inventioun geven thame; And seing the grace of that exercise consisted in embosserye and the craftsmen apt for the same otherwyse and necessarlye busyed it was left aff, quhilk gif it had bene brought to effect this cuntre had not sene nor practised a mair braver, for quhat be the braverye and strange apparell of the persons them selfs, and be the dyvers shapes of the beastes that suld have borne and brought thame in the fight had bene commendable and wonderfull be reason that sic beastes as lyon elephant hart unicorne and the gryphon togeather with the hydre crocodile and dragon carying there ryders had caryed also with it by the newnes of the inventioun some contentment and commendatioun of that exercise. Bot, as I say, some arrysing letts empesched this conceate and al other things wer cast aff that might have forder decored this solemnytie through some other urgent occasions.

So the day folloing the banquett being ordered and the princes togeather with the embassadours placed at the table formed of thrie partis of octoagon there cam into the sight of thame all a blak More drawing as it semed to the

[1] Originally, 'rubeis.' [2] fotioun, fushion=ability.

behalders a tabernacle ful of patisserye frutages and confections and in the sydis thairoff wer placed sax wemen [1] quhilk represented a silent comedie, for in the first front stoode Ceres with a hooke in her right hand and a handfull of cornes in the other, and upon the utmaist pairt of her thie [2] was this sentence *Fundent uberes omnia campi*, quhilk is to say the plenteous feilds sal afford all things. Against her stoode Fecundete with some busses of chesbolles,[3] quhilk under ane hieroglyphicque sence represents bredenes with this devyse *Fœlix prole divum*, and on the other syde of her habit *Crescant in mille*, the first importinge that this cuntrye is blissed by the chyld of the gods, and the secund alluding to the king and queene that thair generatioun may grou into thousands. Folloued on the other syde Faith havinge in her hands a basing and in the same tua hands joyned togeath[er] with this sentence *Boni alumna conjugii*, the fosteres and nurice of a blissed marriage. And fornent her stoode Concord with a golden tass in the left hand and the horne of abondance in the right, with this sentence also *Pleno beant te numina sinu*, the hevenlye pouers dois bliss the with a ful bossome. The last places wer occupyed be Liberalitie, quho having in her right hand tua crounes and in her left tua septers with this devyse *Me comite plura quam dabis, accipies*, that is to say, having me thy fallower, thow sal receave mair then thow sal give. And the other was Perseverance, having in her right hand a staff and on her left shoulder a silver ancar with this devyse, *nec dubiae res mutabunt, nec secundae*, nather doubtfull nor mair prosperus thingis sal chainge your state.

So this tabernacle, quhilk suld have bene drawen in by a lyon it self, yet becaus his presence might brought some feare to the nerrest it was thoght gud the More suld supple that roume, and so he in outward shaw preasing to draw that fordwart quhilk by some secreit convoy and unperceaved was brought to the prences table, and the hail

[1] Altered from 'nymphs.' Calderwood gives an account of this banquet. (v. 345.)
[2] thie=thigh. [3] chesbolles=poppies.

desert delyvered by Ceres Fecundite Faith Concord Liberalite and Perseverance to the erle of Orkney as seuer for the king, to the [1] for the quene and to the lard of Baclugh as seuar for the quene of Englands embassadour and to the [1] for the rest.

Thus the tabernacle emptyed and the persons interchanging thair places and adressing there faces to the prences as they wer withdrawen retered to the end of the great hall. And then a litil efter cam fordward a ship be the lyk hiddin and unperceaved convoy, bot thro a litill over fondness of the pilot, quha committing sacriledg and cleithin himself in the gods golden apparel being of claith of gold [succeeded [2]] in makin Neptun over naked to cleid him self, [and was [2]] over sone discovered, quha being in love with his awen wor[k]manship fered the beholders suld bot late [regard [2]] his handywork.

Now since I have entred in discors of her it salle not be pertinent to this subject to enter mair amplye in the same, the invention being the kings.

Rough draft, 3½ pp. Vol. A, 34.

A longer account of the Ceremonial of the Baptism is printed in J. Nichol, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 353-369.

LXXXV

Bothwell to the Ministers of Edinburgh

7 September 1594.

'I am sorie that upoun sinistrous information, I being innocent, yow sould in secreit places haif detractit me quha sa fer honouris yow, and sa far hath sufferit for your saikis.' Yet, lest you should think me arrogant, I lay before your consideration a clear statement of the truth, both anent my estate, and proceedings with the Papist Lords. Then

[1] Blank. Lord Semple was sewer to the Queen. (Calderwood.)

[2] Owing to defective marginal notes and corrections in text, the words in square brackets are supplied to give coherence to the narrative. This misadventure is not recorded by Calderwood.

I shall leave it to your discretion whether to continue your detractions, or, for pity's sake, to be silent hereafter.

First, as to my estate: although innocent (save what I have done 'in my awin defence'), I have been pursued 'most rigorouslie of my souerane, so that nathing can be able to satisfie him (or at leist thois about him) bot my maist innocent blude, and extirpatioun of my pure freindis and famelie.'

As for England, I have been forbidden to return there, and informed that they will no longer intercede for me or afford me succour.[1]

Among our own nobility, burghs and ministry 'quha wer cautioneris for His Majestie, witnesses of his promeissis past unto me,' I cannot find a single one who will or who dare present my supplication to the King.

My friends are 'hangit, slane, and beggerit, oure landis distributit and possest by oure innemeis, and I my self with thame brocht to sic extremitie, that we knaw not quhair to go'; and even were our lives safe we have not wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. I am sorry that you would be satisfied with nothing less than the publication of my extremity, which is more likely to give satisfaction to my enemies than advantage to me. Yet, 'since the Lord is strong aneuch, and that I knaw I am innocent,' I do not despair of requiting them some day, and of giving you better satisfaction than you expect.

So much for my estate. As for my proceedings with the Papist Lords, it is true that I met with Angus and Errol, with whom I have always been on friendly terms, as I still

[1] Bothwell was intriguing both with the Catholic Earls and the English Government; 'but he was no longer the proud and powerful partisan whom Elizabeth had once so highly favoured; and the moment she discovered that James had detected his intrigues she threw him from her with as much indifference as she would a broken sword; commanded him to leave her dominions; and interdicted her subjects, under the severest penalties, from giving him harbour or assistance.' (Tytler, ix. 143.) The story of the 'intrigues' which James had detected is given by Spottiswoode. (ii. 457.) Bothwell undertook 'to raise such perturbations in the south parts as the king should be compelled to relinquish the expedition he intended to the north.' See also *P.C.*, v. 205.

am ' evin to this hour.' [1] Of late their ' uthir extremiteis maid thame to joyne with Huntlie ' for their own ends, but not against me. They then began to expose to me the ' sustenit injureis, quhilk evill advysit Counsalouris about His Majestie haith inducit His Hienes to execute aganis us, craveing that I, as ane specialie (yea moir then thay) interest, wald concur to put in practize the lovable custome of our progenitouris at Lauder,[2] since now the estait wes alyik. Quhairunto maist willinglie did I assent, and ansuerit that I fand that course sa lefull and honest, that with quhasoeuir I wald not refuis thairin to concur.' They then pointed out that such a great undertaking could be carried through only by the friendly co-operation of all the agents, and required that ' any materis questionable betwix the Erle of Huntlie and me micht be removit, or at leist assurance during the said service grantit.[3] And till the barne came to perfyit age of xvi or xvij yeir auld, at quhat tyme Huntlie suld be bund, at Ochiltreis [4] sicht and myne, to satisfie the pairtie, or gif not, licentiat us to concur and assist with our freind as of befoir.' Further, they promised to satisfy the Queen of England by me in all her demands, they on their part receiving adequate security.[5] Moreover, lest the ministry should calumniate me, they offered when things were peaceably settled ' to performe quhatsumevir possibilie thai culd for satisfactioun of the Kirk, according to the actis and constitutiounis of the samyn.' I replied that I had not yet decided

[1] Bothwell's wife was Margaret Douglas, daughter of David, seventh Earl of Angus.

[2] An allusion to the hanging of the King's favourites at Lauder Bridge in 1482.

[3] Apparently a reference to the murder of the Earl of Moray by Huntly. Moray was thought to have been in communication with Bothwell and in sympathy with his subversive schemes, and it was determined to call him to account on this charge. (*P.C.*, iv. 725 n.; *K.J.S.*, 247; Calderwood, v. 144.)

[4] Ochiltree was the agent sent by the King and Chancellor to desire Moray to enter into negotiations for a reconciliation with Huntly. (*K.J.S.*, 247.) Moray's heir was but a ' barne ' at the time of his father's murder.

[5] In Colville's opinion ' thair is no trew meaning, nether in the said Papistis nor Bothvell, to hir Majestie.' (*Letters*, p. 123.)

whether to accept, but that I would seek the advice of my friends ' betwix this and the tent, and the xiiij of this moneth, I suld returne thame ansuer and, as I espeirit, to ther contentment.'

This is all that was said: if anyone has added or detracted anything, it is false. ' I know it is spokin that I met with Huntlie (quha indeid wes within twa mylis), that I suld haif resavit money for listing of fyve or sax hundreth horss, that alreddie I wes listing to that effect that I wes bund and conioynit with thame in all ther causses, and now to haif uncoverit my long and deip dissimulat ypocrisie, and to becum ane oppin avowit papist.' In order that these ' impudent leyis ' may be the better exposed, I shall postpone until the 25th of this month the answer that I ought to have given on the 10th. In the meantime may it please you to intercede for me with his Majesty, making offers in my name at your discretion. If everything fails, I beg you to pardon me, and to look charitably upon my future behaviour, because I protest before God that, whatever happens, I will always be loyal to the faith now professed and established within this realm. ' And gif I conioyne with any opposites, it salbe as David did with the Philistines, and as divers of your venerable societie did with Maxwell, ane oppin knawne papist.[1] I knaw it wilbe ansuerit he wes not excommunicat, yit I am assurit ye will confes that my extremiteis now ar gritter then youris wer than: for ye had sustentatioun, retrait, libertie, and saiftie of lyve in England, quhilk all I want. So then it wald appeir as my extremitie does surpas youris, so my coniunctioun with the excommunicatis may the bettir be borne with: adding also this temporall argument, that it is hard to lose a heritable erledome, specialie having the blissing of childrene from God.'

I have laid before you ' the verie simple treuth,' craving pardon for anything done ' aither raschelie or undeutifullie,'

[1] In 1585, when ' it is beleved and not altogither without ground the lord Maxwell is agreed with the rebelles [Banished Lords and ministers] and wald fain oppin them a door yf they had force to entre.' (*Warrender Papers*, i. p. 182 and n.; cf. 207 and n.)

and committing myself to your censures, punishments and commands.

Copy. Vol. C.

Printed as Letter XVI in Miss Warrender's *Illustrations*; inventoried in *C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. p. 660.

LXXXVI

Anne of Denmark to Elizabeth

9 September 1594.

Madame and derest sister, having understand baith by your letters and the report of your embassadour the erle of Sussex, togeather with your liberal present and gift,[1] the takenes of your kyndnesse, hou lovinglye and worthelye you have conceaved of us, and of our sone, in quhome God has blessed us, we ar moved be the greatnes of sic curteous affectionn to discover our thankfull akknauledging thairof, not onlye by mouthe, to your embassadour, bot by writt unto your self, that as you have had hithertills the causes of sic favorable dispositioun towards us, flouing fra the mereitts and ametie of the king of Denmark our unquhyle derest father, so we doubt nott, heir efter by our auen deserts and behaviour to inlarge the same and to proceure a longar continuance thair unto, and rather the mair seing it hes plesed God to bliss us in our sone, so neir in bloode belangin to your self, in quhaise birth we perceave you to be sa well contented that in this universal glaidnes of other nations, your joy not onlye hes maire appered bot for surpassed thairs. For the quhilk we rander you sic worthye and infinit thanks as our mynde can conceave, or our letters may discover, asseuring you, if it ly in our pouar to occurre to sic honorable deserts by our freindlye affectioun, we schal endevoure our selfs, if not fullye to requyte, yet att least, be discharging us, be ane way or other, to prove our selfs thankful.

[1] Sussex was sent as the representative of Elizabeth to the baptism of Prince Henry. Moysie says that his gift 'wes a cupboord ritchly wrocht.' (*Memoirs*, 119.)

Thus remitting the rest to the report and sufficiencye of the Erle of Sussex your embassadour[1] we commit you, Madame and derest Sister, to the goode protectionn of God.

Fra our Palice of Halyroodhouse the 9 of September 1594.

Your maist loving and affectionat sister and cousine.

Copy, unsigned, 1½ pp. Vol. B, 352.

Inventoried in *C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. p. 661.

LXXXVII

Henry IV. to James VI.

1 October [1594].

It was a friendly act to invite him to take part in the baptism of the Prince. He has delayed in sending his thanks, because he wished to convey them by his proxy, whom he has not been able to despatch heretofore, but hopes soon to do so. He takes the occasion of the return of Wemyss, James's ambassador, to testify that he rejoices with him, and hopes that the Prince will be nurtured in the ancient friendship between the Crowns of France and Scotland, and, more particularly, between the present kings.

AU ROY DESCOSSE, MONSYEUR MON FRERE.

Monsyeur mon frere, je ne pouvoys pas atandre un myleur temoynage de vostre partyculyere afectyon que la faveur que vous maves fete de mynvyter au batesme de mon cousyn le prynce vostre fys, dont je me resans fort votre oblygé. Jay dyferé a vous an remercyer par ce que je me reservoys a fayre fere cet ofyce par celluy que je despescheray vers vous pour asyster audyt baptesme de ma part, que je nay peu fere partyr plus tot,[2] mes ce cera dans peu de jours. Ce pendant je nay voullu perdre locasyon du retour du sieur Douymes[3] vostre ambassadeur

[1] The Earl departed on 12 September. (Calderwood, v. 346.)

[2] No French ambassador was present at the ceremony of baptism; but on his Majesty's 'right hand was sett a chaire richlie decked, about the which was the King of France's armes.' (Calderwood, v. 343.)

[3] Cf. No. LXXVIII. On his return Wemyss made a report of his proceedings before the King and Council in March 1594-5. (*P.C.*, v. 216.)

sans outre une depesche quyl vous porte vous fere ancores cete cy pour commancer a me conjouyr avec vous de ce beau prynce que Dieu vous a donné et vous protester que comme je desyre quyl resoyve avec son premyer layt lympressyon de la syngulyere amytyé quy est de tout tams antre nos couronnes et ancores plus partyculyere antre nos personnes que je luy voue et dedye toute la myenne, quy vous est aiguyse et certayne que je ne vous an feray poynt ycy de nouvelle protestacyon, me contantant de vous suplyer de croir que je suys tousjours, Monsyeur mon frere,

Vostre byen bon et afectyonné frere et cousyn

HENRY.

ce premyer octobre a Parys.

Holograph, two seals remain and part of pink silk cord, 1 p. Vol. B, 501.

LXXXVIII

James VI. to Queen Anne

15 October [1594].

Sends news of the battle between Argyle and the Catholic Earls, and of his own expedition to the north. He is resolved not to return until he has brought matters to an honourable and successful issue. Should the undertaking be protracted, he would like the Queen to join him, if he send for her. The bearer will inform her of details.

Mon cœur, selon le desir de vostre letre j'ay voulu accompagner le porteur aveques la presente. Quant aux nouvelles de par deca je m'asseure vous aves desia ouy tout le discours de la battaille entre Argeil et ces papistes seigneurs,[1]

[1] The Battle of Glenrinnis, or Glenlivat, 3 October 1594. Cf. No. LXXV. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, bearing the King's commission, was sent 'at the instant solicitatioun of the ministers, to invade Huntlie for the slaughter of the Erle of Murrey, and to disquiett him till the king himself came with his armie.' The victory was 'uncertane,' but it sufficed to render 'Huntlie and Erroll unable therafter to make anie resistance to the king's armie.' (Calderwood, v. 348-353.) James left Edinburgh for his northland raid on 4 October, and returned from Aberdeen early in November. (*Ibid.*, 353, 357.) See also *P.C.*, v. 179 n.; *H.J.S.*, 338-343; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 120.

et pour le dire en un mot, les rebelles ont donné la desfaicte mais receu la plus grande perte par la mort et blesseure de beaucoup de leurs principaux gentils hommes; et pour ma part il n'y a que deux jours que je suis arrivé icy aveques la plus miraculeuse et mortelle tempeste quon vit jaimais, et toisours depuis ces papistes seigneurs se sont retirés seuls en quelques cachots on ne scait ou, et á ceste heure je suis apres á faire privée inquisition d'eux et de leur associats pour . . . apper toute de mesme comme je faits contre Bothuell et les siens quand je suis par dela; et parce que ceste affaire pourra tirer á quelque longeur et que je suis resolu de ne retourner jaimais sans y avoir mis quelque honorable et bonne fin, je vous prie vous praeparer de venir icy si la longeur de mes affaires me donne occasion de vous mander querir, mais remectant la resolucion (lequell de nous fera le travaill á l'autre) á mon premier advertissement ensuivant, je vous diray pour ceste fois adieu. Ce xv d'octobre

Vostre seull

deme JAQUES R̃.

Ce porteur vous pourra informer de toutes les paiculiarités de nos affaires ici, et je vous puis asseurer qu'ill est fort mon serviteur.

Holograph, one seal remains and hole where other has been broken, slits along margins, ⅔ p. Vol. B, 353.

LXXXIX

Notes of the Lieutenantis procedinges, 1594

[*c.* November 1594.]

The notis of our heill progrece sene his Majesteis depertour.[1]

Item, first all suspect personis war summoned. Sic as compeirit nocht war put at the horn. Utheris that com-

[1] When the King returned south, on 11 November, he left the Duke of Lennox as Lieutenant. (*P.C.*, v. 179 n., 190 n., and authorities there cited.) His commission of Lieutenancy was dated at Aberdeen on 7 November. (*Ibid.*, 187-188.)

perit and var nocht at the last reid fund cation and gryt deficultie to try thir innosent.

The heill housis put in the handis of the best effectit gentill men of the cuntrie.

Gif any day wes omitit quhairin we haif nocht doun sum necessar service, it wes only be our stey in Aberdein foir leik of silver.

We held courtis upoun capitall crymis only, and sic as wes fund to merit deithe put to execution and nan componit with, bot verray few comperit.

Item, to remember how gryt diskuragment his Majesteis last letter and artikleis gaif to the heill gentill men and utheris estei[m]ing my lord Duik nether to haif moyen to plesure him self nor them, seing it wes ordenit be his Majestie that all the gryter sort of rebellis suld cum suth our,[1] and also therby his lordship disgrecit; heirfor that his Majestie vill send ample power to my Lord in this.[2]

Tuiching the quyeting of the cuntrie hoipis in God to do als mykill therin as can be with sic forcis and anis to put the sam to resnoble esteit bot will nocht be guid it sall conteneu sua becaus vanting garnisone that standis in the fedelatie of the cuntrie.

Item, to remember besyd thir namis contenit in tikit and disponit be his Majestie with the Dunnibirslairis[3] quhilk ar both thair force and the men of substance amangis them we can fynd few or nan ony thing vorthie. Ther is ane gryt numer of the nam of Gordon with ws, sua all thir being respectit thair is fewe honest men besyd.

LENOX.[4]

Original, autograph signature, 1 p. Vol. A, 362.

[1] cum suth our=come over south.

[2] On 19 December the Duke's commission was ratified and extended to cover the power of granting remission. This enabled him to carry out the negotiations whereby Huntly and Errol were allowed to withdraw quietly into banishment. (*Ibid.*, 192, 193 n.)

[3] The first head of Lennox's commission was to proceed against Huntly, Angus, Errol, and other Catholics; 'as also all persons at the horn for the treasonable burning of Dynnibirsell.' (*P.C.*, v. 187.)

[4] Ludovick Stewart, second Duke of Lennox. He returned to Edinburgh on 16 February and gave a report of his proceedings to the King and Council on the following day. His commission ran until his renunciation of it in August 1596. (*Ibid.*, 207, 208 n., 309; Tytler, 153.) Transcripts in H.M. General Register House of the correspondence of George Nicholson, English agent, give considerable information about events from January to April 1595.

XC

Mr. David Lyndesay to Brother Ministers

31 December [1594].

To his brethring Maister Robert Bruice, Mr Patrick Gallowa and Mr James Nicolsone,[1] ministeris of Chrystis ewangell.

Brethring, eftir most hartlie commendatioun I thocht guid be thir few lynis to informe yow of our proceidingis in thir partis quhair we have travelit werie cairfullie to caus my ladie Huntlie and my lordis freindis to persuad him to depairt off the cuntrie certifieng giff he did not we wald use all kynd off rigour, bot as yit we find onlie drift off tyme, alwayis put in hoip everie day to resave sume resolutt answer. This day we have concludit, giff ansuer cum not within tuo dayis to proceid with rigour against all the erlis and ther vyffis and complesis, as also to remain with garnisons into thair principall housis. The onlie stay wilbe want off payment to our wadgitt mene,[2] for the quhilk we have concludit that the haill escheitis compositionis and profeit off remissionis with all wther causualities that may fall salbe bistowit for furnising of thame, at the leist so monie as we may, and othir sall pacifie this cuntrie or be extreime necessitie put bak. My lord Duik hes resolvit rathir to die with honour in the defence off this caus or ellis to do his honest deutie, and the haill counsell ar off this

[1] Galloway and Nicholson were among the ministers whom James took with him in his northern expedition 'to beare witnesse of his paines and severe proceedings.' (Calderwood, v. 353, 356.)

[2] From the very beginning the enterprise was hampered by want of money. At the middle of October James, seconded by the ministers whom he had taken with him, appealed to the ministers of Edinburgh to help in raising supplies. (*Ibid.*, 354, 356.)

same mynd. We have tain cautione off the cheiff gentill mene off this cuntrie for observing the generall band and gud obedience to his Majestie, and commandit thame till enter ther brokin men, and to be reddie to accompanie my lord luiftenent at the nixt proclamatione. We have chargit my lord Sutherland, quha glaidlie wald cum to us giff his mother [1] wald suffer him to cum to Abirdein quhair, God-willing, we mynd to be about the tent day off this moneth; as also his mother for sick thingis as may be laid to hir charg the bearer cane informe yow farther in this mater. My lord Cathnes [2] is lykwayis chargit, quha hes gottin the kingis remissione wndir certane conditionis. We luik he sall cum till ws. My lord Bothwell is still in Cathnes [3] in ane house of my lordis, as also Maistir James Gordoune luikand daylie for newis from Spain. This cuntrie presentlie is in resonabll quyetnes. I have schawne Maister James Nickolsonis adwyse wreittine unto me to my lord luiftenent and sume of the counsell, quha I trust sall follow the same. I pray yow lat me knaw the estait of all thingis with yow. Not ellis, bot committis yow to the protectione of God. Frome Elgine this last of Decembir.

Be your brothir

DAVID LYNDESAY.

Revene in Badinoch [4] is to be randerit and the capitane

[1] Jean Gordon, aunt of the Earl of Huntly. She was the wife whom Bothwell divorced in order to marry Mary Queen of Scots. Fifteen months after this date she had to find caution not to 'reset or intercommune with any of his Majesty's declared traitors, their known adherents and accomplices, or with jesuits, seminary priests, trafficking papists, or excommunicated persons.' (*P.C.*, v. 218.)

[2] George, fifth Earl of Caithness. He was a party to the band between the Catholic lords and Bothwell in August 1594. (*Ibid.*, 205 and n.) He was the brother-in-law of Huntly and the half-brother of Bothwell.

[3] Bothwell continued to skulk about in the north until the following April, when he went abroad to live the rest of his life as an obscure adventurer in exile in France, Spain, and Italy. See the summary in *P.C.*, v. 209 n.

[4] Ruthven Castle in Badenoch had been besieged at the end of September by the Earl of Argyle as lieutenant and at the persuasion of Mr. Robert Bruce; but the attack had to be abandoned at that time. (Spottiswoode, ii. 458.)

presentlie vith us in Elgine; quhilk stayis a cummersume hiland jornay in this tyme of yeir.

Original, holograph, slits along margin, 1 p. Vol. A, 395.

XCI

Jaques Valcke to Chancellor Maitland

22 May 1595.

He is beholden to the Chancellor for his gracious letter of 25 December past, delivered by Pittenweem, the King's ambassador. He has pondered over Maitland's discourse on the pernicious designs of the Catholics for the conquest of the whole of Britain, as well as of the United Provinces and other countries; but he trusts that by the grace of God these designs will be frustrated by His Majesty and all others. The menace of the enemy in their own parts, and other causes (known to the ambassador) hinder the States-General from showing such tokens as they would like to show to the King's service. They will never lack the goodwill to do as much as possible. The writer, on his part, will not fail to do what he can in the matter.

A MONSEIGNEUR [MON] SIEUR LE GRAND [CH]ANCELER D'ESCOSSE.

Monseigneur, Vostre Seigneurie moblige de plus en plus a vous estre bien humble serviteur par la continuacion de vos bonnes graces tesmoignee par vostre tant gratieuse lettre quil vous a pleu mescrire, le xxv[e] de Decembre dernier avecq Monsieur de Pettinweyme ambassadeur de sa Majeste,[1] laquelle ma este tant aggreable que je ne scaurois assez dignement le recognoistre fors que vous en remerciant de tout mon cœur.

Jay tresbien considere vostre tres avise discours sur les

[1] Sir William Stewart of Houston, Commendator of Pittenweem, was commissioned to the Low Countries in December 1594, 'to intreate upoun sum wechtie effearis.' On 14 February following, at the Hague, he 'had an audience of the States General along with Mr. Denniston the resident envoy.' (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 175.) On 10 July he delivered his report to the Privy Council, and was thanked 'for his meritorious proceedings in his mission.' (*P.C.*, v. 194-195, 227.) He obtained the ratification of the ancient treaties, and a licence to transport arms. (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 175-176.)

pernicieux desseings des ennemis communs a semparer de toute Leisle de Bretaigne que de ces pays et aultres que leur ambition leur faict a croire de povoir emporter ; mais jespere que Dieu fera la grace a sa Majeste (par le soing quelle prend a sy opposer dun courage royal et heroique) et a nous tous de les en empecher. Il y a ja long temps que lesdicts ennemis emploient leurs forces tant icy quailleurs, et desplaise bien a tous gens de bien, que cela et aultres occasions (que Monsieur lambassadeur scait et at entendu par deca) donne tant dempechemens et difficultez a Messeigneurs les estatz quilz ne peulvent par si bons effectz quilz desireroient bien faire paroistre a sa Majeste laffection quilz portent a son service qui est conjoinct a leur propre bien et de toute la Chrestiennete. Si se peult et sa Majeste et vostre Seigneurie tresbien asseurer, quil ne leur manc-quera jamais a la bonne volunte dy apporter tout ce que leur sera possible. Et si en cela je puis faire quelque chose, (qui est bien peu) je ne fauldray a my emploier de toute affection tant pour lobligacion tresgrande que jay a faire tout humble service a sa Majeste que pour le bien que nous en esperons en general. Suppliant vostre Seigneurie de me vouloir honnorer de ses commandemens et ne fauld-ray a me regler selon iceulx dune volunte tresprompte avecq laquelle je me recommande bien humblement en vos bonnes graces ; priant le Createur,

Monseigneur, vous avoir en sa saincte et digne guarde. Escrit a Middelbourch en Zelande ce 22e Jour de May 1595.

De vostre Seigneurie bien humble et affectionne serviteur JAQUES VALCKE.[1]

[*Endorsed*] From the ambassador of States to the Chan-celler,[2] 1595.

Holograph, trace of seal, 1⅔ pp. Vol. B, 456.

[1] Jacob Valcke, treasurer of Zealand, was one of the ambassadors of the Estates to the baptism of Prince Henry. (*H.J.S.*, 335 ; *Scots Brigade in Holland*, i. 154.)

[2] This is the last appearance of the Chancellor Maitland of Thirlestane in these Papers. He died ' in his new mansion of Thirlstane in Berwickshire, on the 3rd of October 1595. His last recorded appearance in Council had been on the 24th of July.' (*P.C.*, v. xxxiv.)

NOS. XCII–CXLVI: INTRODUCTORY

THE fifty-five documents in this section are a rich miscellany, stretching in date from 1595 to 1602, on the eve of James's succession to the English throne. They vary greatly in length, in substance, in language and in scholarship : some of them reveal state secrets ; some hint warily at matters not meant to come openly ' to knaulege ' (No. CXLI) ; others give us intimate glimpses into the workings of statecraft, the social condition of the country, the fears of the Kirk, and the ' affection ' of a stricken mother's heart (No. CXLII). The web of interests and activities is widespread, but it is spun by one master-mind animated by one settled purpose. After the death of his Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlestane, James had other ministers, but he was his own untrammelled master. As Queen Elizabeth advanced in years, he became ever the more anxious to secure his ' birthright to the kingdom of England ' upon her death (No. CXXXV). Although ' both by human and divine right the succession lay with him and his heirs,' he was debarred by Act of Parliament,[1] and he feared that in the end the prize for which he had toiled so long might ' be snatched from him fraudulently or forcibly ' (No. CXVIII).

Circumstances, therefore, as well as inclination, led him to elaborate the theory of the divine right of kingship. The application of this principle to home affairs meant an endeavour to impose his sovereign will as ultimate authority

[1] By the Succession Acts of 1536 and 1544 Henry VIII. was empowered to bequeath the crown by will, failing issue of his children. He cut out the Scottish line, descended from his elder sister Margaret, in favour of the descendants of Mary, his younger sister.

in Church and State. The more completely he was master in his own house, the better would be his chance to succeed to the sister kingdom. From the nature of things the struggle for supremacy came to be fought largely upon religious and ecclesiastical issues.

James realised that only one Church system could at that time be acknowledged by the State, and during the last years of his personal reign in Scotland he sought to shape the national Church upon a Protestant basis according to his will. In the autumn of 1596 the most immediate problem was that raised by the return of the three exiled Catholic leaders, Huntly, Errol, and Angus. James told Huntly plainly that for love of his 'awin estait,' he could never 'suffer any professing a contraire religion to duell in this lande': that if the excommunicated exile would be 'ane Skottisman againe' he must 'satisfy the Kirk' (No. XCV). Yet he was no bigot. It was in itself a noble desire 'that the haill bodie of oure realme maye be of new unit in religione and policie' (No. XCVII). His philosophic mind may have embraced the principle of religious toleration in matters of conscience, while his worldly ambition clearly told him that it was unwise to alienate Catholic opinion beyond his borders. As a ruler, there were advantages in having powerful and disaffected subjects under his own eye at home rather than at large in hostile courts; and that, reconciled to the Kirk and the King, they might be reinstated as magistrates to settle their domains 'in rest and quyettness.'

Huntly declared that 'nane in thir partis mai nor vill presum to minister justeis aganis ony spetiall heland clanis heir bot ve' (No. CXVI). The continued lawlessness of some of the name of Gordon might give weight to the allegation that he sought his commission for 'extortion' of his neighbours, or 'sum gredines of geir.' On the other hand, the feuds that reft the Highlands demanded a magistrate

strong enough to do justice upon 'sik lownis' as were accustomed 'to use thair vikitt traffik vithin the cuntrai or jurisdiction of ane special clan or uther.' We can well believe that the 'bygon trubilsum tymis' had bred 'greit enormetie and briganie and sindrei uther odious crymis dayillie comittand, sik as revesing of vemen, taking and robing of mercheanttis pakis, quyet murtheris, greit opressing of the puir be violent thift, and ane greit suspition of sum inventious personis to be enteritt in striking and conterfuting his Majestie cunzei bayth of gold and silver' (No. CXVI).

It is significant that the commission for the reconciliation of Huntly to the Kirk was accompanied by another commission 'for satling of trublis and pacifieng debaits in the northe,' and that Huntly, being 'in the place of ane shereff and magistrat' under the King, was to act 'in all wichtie effaires' with the assistance of 'ane counsale of baronis of the best affected and maist zelous of religioun with sum godlie ministeris' (Nos. CVIII, CIX, CX).

James intended to use the three Earls 'herefter as christianes obedient to God and thair soverane,' and to this end they had first to be reconciled to the Kirk. The absolution of the excommunicated lords was a victory for the King; the pains and labour spent in achieving his purpose are a testimony to the power of the Kirk. On the strength of past experience, Huntly might reasonably have hoped that 'na tryell' would be 'socht nor taine' by the King on a charge of trafficking 'with strangeris or utheris . . . sen his last depairting out of this cuntrie' (No. XCVI). As it was, James showed him favour in having him warded in his own district 'benorthe the watter of Dee'; but before he could enter the royal presence or kiss her Majesty's hand (No. CXIII) his excommunication had to be relaxed by the Kirk and his forfeiture reduced

by Parliament. Of these conditions the former was infinitely the more difficult to fulfil. Parliament was amenable to the King, but the Kirk had to be forced into forgiveness of the ' thrie afflictit Earlis, speciallie the Erle of Huntlie ' (No. CVIII). Here it is well to remember that the outcry was not so great against Angus and Errol ; and that of the three Huntly was the most dangerous in political as well as in Church affairs. The Kirk not only feared the influence of the Earl and his wife at court, but they remembered his crimes of conspiracy and murder in a feud against their heroes, Argyle and Moray. In the end the King's ' trawel ' effected Huntly's absolution from apostasy years before his reconciliation with his blood enemies (Nos. CI, CXLVI). Although, therefore, in theory the King's tolerance was nobler than the Kirk's bigotry, in fact something can be pleaded in exoneration of the ministers.

They were not unreasonably alarmed by the clandestine return of Huntly in the summer of 1596, his favourable reception, and his continued driving of time. At the end of January negotiations were retarded because the ministers found him not ' instant in suiting ' his absolution ; at a later stage his Majesty was ' earnestly ' petitioned ' to writ with all diligence to my lord Huntly that he continew in conference with the best resolvit ministeris ' (No. CV) ; and during the course of proceedings the Catholic party offended more than the ' scrupolositie of the ignorant seymen ' by renewed trafficking with strangers and entertainment of Jesuits (No. CXIII).

These things explain, if they do not justify, the Kirk's suspicions of Huntly's true repentance, while his subsequent conduct belied his assertion to Murray that ' all my gretest cair nou is to mak perkis and stankis and to be ane pecabill man ' (No. CXIII). The reinstatement of the excommunicated Earls was part of the King's wider plan for curbing the power of the Kirk, and this gives a peculiar

interest to the methods in achieving the absolution of Huntly, the apostate in chief.

The place of conference was Aberdeen, where the Earl was in the midst of friends and the ministers were far removed from the ' maist discreit ' brethren for whose counsel and aid they wrote so urgently at the end of January 1596-7. James was deliberately raising a barrier between North and South, and bringing pressure to bear upon the more distant presbyteries. He tried to play off presbytery against presbytery, exhorting Aberdeen to relax the excommunication imposed by St. Andrews ' to the quhilk the said erle was not subject.' He sought, further, to stir up jealousy of ' ony supremacie of the ministeris and presbyterie of Edinburgh,' and used threats to back persuasion. The temporal sword was brandished in the spiritual sphere. Sir Patrick Murray, the King's commissioner, was armed with ' missives and letters ' to compel obedience under political pains. Mr. Secretary Lindsay, in sending the warrants, wrote that if ' oni particular man . . . vald stay that gud wark quhilk ye haive in hand ye have a moyen be thir letters to correct his wilfulness and to gar his eschet and benefice fal in his Majesteis handis.' At the same time, however, he cautioned Murray to be very wary ' in using of thir letters and chairges against the ministers, and [to] use them noch except in gryt necessitei that ye can noch do utherways ' (No. C). The King was more vehement than the Secretary in urging that ' the same be put to full executioun.'

We can share the anxiety of the perplexed ministers who found themselves ' chargit be his Majesties letters under pain of horning to give conference to the Erle of Huntly . . . albeit we sei nocht as yet that he is resolvit . . . in the dowtis of religion ' (No. XCVIII). Huntly's vacillation was like to cost them dear, when they besought their brethren in Edinburgh and Leith ' to obtain a continuation

of all thir chargis and answeris till the generall assembly nixt at Perth,' and begged the King to excuse his ' servitour and commissioner Patrik Murray quha, wpoun our eirnest requeist and guid hope that your Majestie salbe satisfeit at the generall assemblie in all poyntis, hes continewit the chairges of hornyng onexecute, quhilk favour also we luik for at your Majesties handes, as we salbe willing till pleasour your Majestie in all thingis in God ' (Nos. XCVIII, CIII).

Their conduct in this crisis was dignified and discreet. They refrained from taking separate action as a synodal assembly; and they followed their own judgment rather than the King's ' instructiones ' in their attitude towards the ' last uproare of the peple in Edinburgh ' on 17th December 1596. It suited the King's anti-presbyterian policy to consider this ' uproare ' as ' plaine rebellione ' stirred up by the ' seditious preicheing ' of the ministers ' out of the pulpit '; but the Presbytery of Aberdeen, ' being ignorant quhat the ministeris off Edinbruche doingis hes bein in this laitt tumulte off Edinburghe,' refused to ' juge of the samyn,' or to pass sentence in ' ignorance of the proces and of the particular.' They wished to act in equity as good servants of God and the King. ' Quhosoevir salbe found be just tryall to have bein authour of any insurrectioun aganis your Majestie . . . deserves to be punischit as a traitour, and gif he be a minister as a dowble traitour, baith to his Majestie and to God in his ministerie ' (No. CIII).

Their attitude was equally moderate with regard to the subscription of the band imposed, after the tumult in Edinburgh, upon ' all ministeris . . . to acknawlege oure authoritie in all materis of seditione or tressone and uther civill and criminale maiteris ' (No. XCVII). Controversial points they referred to the decision of the General Assembly at Perth, where the more extreme brethren complained

that they proved themselves ' great courteours ' and subservient to the King. They were further removed from the heart of the conflict, and perhaps so much the less keenly sensitive to the dangers threatened to clerical immunities and ecclesiastical parity.

In the General Assembly at Dundee in May 1597, James carried his victory a step further, when a General Ecclesiastical Commission was granted to fourteen ministers to co-operate with the King upon ' sindrie maters of weight and importance ' (No. CXIV n.). Calderwood, writing from the Presbyterian standpoint, brands these commissioners as ' the king's led horse,' and as ' the verie needle which drew in the thread of bishops ' (No. CXVII n.).

The Ecclesiastical Commission gave James a lever to launch a more direct attack upon the Presbyterian system, and he struck his first blow at the heart of the hostile camp. Sir Patrick Murray, who had rendered such able service in the North, was appointed ' commissioner for his Majestie to the towne of Sanctandrois ' in 1597: the ' visitatioune of our universitie there ' was levelled against Andrew Melville, its learned rector and the outspoken champion of Presbyterian doctrines; and Mr. David Black, the intransigent Puritan, was replaced by the more amenable Mr. George Gledstanes (No. CXLI). In Edinburgh the King visited his wrath upon the sceptical ministers who declined to accept his unsubstantiated statement anent the Gowrie treason in 1600 (No. CXLIV). By the turn of the century James had carried his way in setting up the beginnings of a hierarchical system. The Bishop of Ross who mediated between Huntly and Moray in 1602 (No. CXLVI) was David Lindsay, formerly the minister of Leith who had been appealed to by Mr. Peter Blackburne on behalf of the distressed brethren in the North in their perplexities with Huntly and the King. These two, and Mr. George Gledstanes, who in 1596 had

been associated together in the ranks of Presbyterianism, had in 1600 become bishops and King's men identified with the cause of Prelacy.

It seemed as if in four years James had undermined the Presbyterian polity, but the Warrender Papers show that he met opposition, and suggest that his position was not always so strong as would appear at sight. Mr. Alexander Douglas, minister at Elgin, and a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission, hinted that even that body was not always subservient to the royal will. He complained, moreover, that injustice was done to himself, 'becaus I am your Majesties man'; and he besought the King 'to hald me up that dependis upon your Majestie under God' (No. CXVII). In 1599 a somewhat cryptic letter from Gledstanes to Murray betrays a state of considerable trepidation among the King's party. There is a ring of real anxiety in the cry, 'God keipe our maister, for we will misse him schortlie for oght I see' (No. CXLI).

Lastly, it would appear that even the town of Edinburgh had not been permanently cowed by the King's severe measures after the tumult of 17th December 1596. It was recalcitrant enough to withstand royal dictation in 1601 (No. CXLIV). In that year 'the town being desyrit be his Majestie to accept of the saidis pastoris [nominated by him] and to mak thame sufficient provision, had altogether refused upon some frivolus pretendit resons.' The citizens stood by their ministers whom the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had 'ordanit . . . to be transportit to particular places and uthers to be planted in thair rowmes.' It was thought that 'nane can be hable to move the townn to do thair dewtie . . . but his Majestie onlie,' and a repetition was suggested of the harsh treatment of 1596-7. The fact that the matter was compromised in the end may testify to the strength of the opposition to the King as well as to his royal clemency.

The Warrender documents do not afford sufficient evidence to pass judgment upon any of the actors in this ecclesiastical struggle. It is not revealed how far they acted from principle and how far from self-interest; but it is clear that the established system had considerable popular support, and one feels that the King's own conduct was partly to blame for driving the advanced Presbyterians to extremes. We have seen that in times of need James had proved the loyalty and support of the Kirk; and it was lack of confidence in him that caused much of the later mischief. The ministers were haunted by a lively dread of Jesuits, excommunicated papists, and Spanish conspirators; and the documents show that they had some reason to fear the tergiversations and devious methods of the King. Undoubtedly they were prone to an excessive freedom of speech in their preaching; but they represented a social class that had grown to man's estate, and the pulpit was the most effective, if not the only, channel of expression open to them; and the King himself made use of it.

There were rights and wrongs and principles at issue on both sides. We need not doubt that in his own eyes James sought the good of the Church as well as the establishment of his own supremacy over it. He knew that to give the clerical estate a voice in Parliament would bring its leaders more directly under his control, and, by affording them a new outlet for their activities, would rob the pulpit of some of its power; but he also knew the strength of the appeal that representation in Parliament would give dignity and standing to the Kirk. He showed tact and wisdom in carrying the General Assembly with him, and in knowing how far he could go. The result was to create a situation which might easily lead to a war of principles in the future; but from his own point of view he had been not unsuccessful in his ecclesiastical policy before he terminated his personal rule in Scotland. He

had become virtually Head of the Church as well as supreme magistrate in the State: King by divine right in spiritual and temporal affairs.

He had not, however, satisfied one of the most crying wants of the Church. He had given her prestige but not emoluments. One of the most pressing problems was the endowment of a sufficient number of kirks to supply the needs of the people. In 1596, we read of 'ane commissione for the plat,' or scheme for the 'planting of kirks,' endowed with adequate stipends for their incumbents (No. XCVII). In 1597, it was a condition of Huntly's reconciliation that he should 'make provision for his kirks immediately after his absolution' (Nos. CIV, CVI). Again, one of the functions of the Ecclesiastical Commission was 'to plant al vacand burghis' (No. CXLIV). Thus it fell within their competence to take 'ordour for planting of a sufficient number of godlie and learned pastoris' in Edinburgh, and his Majesty desired the town 'to accept of the saidis pastoris and to mak thame sufficient provision.' We have here the picture of a poverty-stricken, struggling Church in its second generation, with much constructive work still to be done. The question of the building and endowment of kirks was one which would have required more care and thought than James gave to it among his other activities.

In the political sphere his attention during these years was chiefly occupied with the Islands and Borders. His interest in the Islands was partly for the sake of increasing his own revenues—for the shadow of his poverty falls everywhere; but it was also partly for the sake of good governance, and partly because of Scoto-Irish-English intrigue.

Nearer, however, and more urgent was the Border problem. It was the King's hope that with the Union of the Crowns there would be no more Borders, but he had

to prepare the way for international brotherliness by the establishment of peace and concord among his subjects of the Scottish marches.

The Warrender Papers tell us what the former 'custome was' upon a 'daye of treuce,' when 'officeris or deputyes kept thair meeting, mead mutuall redress of such vrongis as had occurred befoir that tyme, and sinderet in verrye good termis' (No. XCIII). This same document also shows us how precarious was the stability of law upon the Borders, and what strange conceptions might be held as to the responsibilities of office and the nature of public service. It was asserted as 'the verrye truth' that the English deputy thought 'to doo good service by the seasing of such an notorious offender [as Kinmont Willie] . . . to the plaine braech of the treuces,' and to carry him prisoner from a Warden's meeting to the Castle of Carlisle.

On his side, Buccleuch, the Scottish Warden, 'being loath to informe the king of the mater least the sam might have bred some mistakking betwixt the princes,' thought good to take upon himself the burden of negotiations; and when these failed, 'finding his Majesties honour tuitched so apparentlye to the world, he did resolve him selff to seeck the releeff of the prisoner by the meanes whairby it was performed.'

The story of how he achieved his purpose by the 'surpryzing of Carlill casle' is told more vigorously than grammatically, and with a dramatic effect worthy of the ballad tale. We can share in the relief of the Scotsmen 'that it hapned to fall to be verrye dark in that hindnight and a litle mistie,' when they were lurking with their ladders at the foot of the wall 'whillest the sentinellis war in the top of the wall above them looking over, and crying and speaking one to an uther.' Buccleuch stands in the succession of Gideon and the primitive heroes with his simple strategy to encourage his own men, 'and to

terrifye boath the casle and toune by an imaginatioune of a greater force.' It says much for his own peculiar sense of scrupulous honour and duty, and for his powers of discipline, that he was able to prevent all spoil and looting, 'thought thay that enteret might have takken prisoner the warden and all the persones that wer thair, and mead pray of the heall goodis'; and that, in face of the enemy, 'he did retir him selff in ordour . . . and cam back to Scottis grund at about a tuo houris efter the sone rysing and so haimvardis.'

We can understand how this feat of arms struck the popular imagination and enshrined itself in song, but it might well give food for more serious thought to the statesmen of the sister kingdoms. It is appropriate that our next glimpse into Border affairs shows us a resolute attempt on the part of the Scottish government to compose the 'disordourit estate of the west marche' (No. CXL). In 1598, Angus, after his reconciliation and reinstatement, was given the costly and unenviable task of acting as the King's lieutenant within these bounds.

Others besides Angus in these years must have found his Majesty's service both arduous and unproductive of results. Among such were David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr. Peter Young, Great Almoner of Scotland, sent as ambassadors in 1598 to the King of Denmark and neighbouring Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The papers relating to their embassy form a distinct and most interesting group of documents, containing the mandate of the ambassadors and the replies of the different rulers and statesmen approached. Thus we can gather the scope of the mission, the workings of Scottish diplomacy, and the varied response with which it met.

The mandate gave twofold instructions to the ambassadors: to work, firstly, for the weal of Christendom; secondly, in the particular interests of the King of Scots.

To profess a desire to bind up the open wounds of Europe and to join a crusade against the Turk, 'common enemy of the Christian name,' had a noble and an altruistic ring, and was doubtless calculated to appeal to Princes who lived under the shadow of the Turkish menace. But James could scarcely have been ignorant that 'all these matters must be laid before the Emperor in the first place' (No. CXXIX). It was clearly no disinterested affection which reminded him at this time of the 'bonds of ancient kinship' between the Scottish crown and the houses of Saxony, Hesse, and Brunswick (Nos. CXXX, CXXXII, CXXXV), and that 'there is no more binding tie between upright and zealous men than the profession of sincere religion and the care of morals' (No. CXXXIII). What lay nearer to his heart than the general weal of Christendom was to make good his 'undoubted right to the realm of England' (No. CXIX). The real business of the ambassadors was to negotiate a joint League of friendly Princes to intercede with Elizabeth to nominate James officially as her successor, and to support him with force of arms if she refused, or if need otherwise arose. One can imagine that the ambassadors would have to wipe out a suspicion of 'untimely canvassing' (No. CXVIII), and that for their delicate task they would indeed require to be like 'Homer's Nestor in respect of [their] great wisdom, ability in affairs and gifts of character' (No. CXXXVIII). Mr. Peter Young had perhaps schooled himself from past experience not to expect too much (No. VII). On this occasion they seem to have reaped courtesies and fair promises which came to little. The Princes wished the King well and commended him to the 'providence of Almighty God by Whose will alone kingdoms are disposed,' but they were unwilling to commit themselves to any 'definite subsidy' or binding 'promise in the matters proposed by your Majesty' (No. CXXX).

They would promote his cause 'by letters or embassies' to neighbour Princes, and by common action, but they would not take independent measures. At the outset King Christian IV., on whom James placed his chief reliance, pleaded impediments at home and abroad, but on the return of the ambassadors to Denmark, he declared himself well pleased with the 'happy success' of the mission, and made a conditional promise of future support which was never called for (Nos. CXX, CXXXIX).

James must have spent much money to little purpose upon this embassy, and it is noteworthy that he addressed himself not only to Princes, but also to counsellors. He seems to have kept in touch with German affairs since his wedding trip. Thus, although 'somewhat late,' he had used his influence with the King of Poland and Sweden on behalf of Henry Ramel (No. CXXIV); and he had intercourse on literary, if not on political, matters with the former representative of Mecklenburg at Prince Henry's baptism (No. CXXXVIII).

He evidently sought to have as wide a circle of contacts and friendships as possible; but the Warrender Papers throw no direct light upon his secret overtures to Catholic powers, although there may be a deeper meaning than meets the eye in his letter to his kinsmen of the House of Guise, and in Lord Home's ostensible mission of congratulation to Henry IV. upon his deliverance from traitors (No. CXLV). However that may be, the closing years of the century show a renewal of intercourse between France and Scotland. The two countries had drifted somewhat apart after the marriage of James VI. to Anne of Denmark; and there is thus a special interest in the Declaration of the King, in 1597, touching the League with France (No. CXV).

This document was partly drawn up by Mr. Secretary Lindsay about the time when he was designate on a

mission to France, but, as the mission was never undertaken, the Declaration was probably never promulgated. Nevertheless, it is of considerable inherent interest, academic and historical. Thus, from the literary point of view one detects a strange blending of the mediaeval and the modern. On the one side we find inaccuracy in the presentation of details, and credulity in the acceptance of legendary history, on the other an effort at critical analysis and reasoned judgment. Misstatements, such as make Robert II. the son of David II., are easily to be detected. Credulity and scepticism are strangely mixed. Thus, we are asked to put entire faith in the historicity of King Achaius and his brother, William the Scot: in the first as founder of the Auld Alliance, in memory of which he 'bordered his arms with a double tressure of fleur de lis,' in the second as the warrior who reduced, or restored, 'the city of Florence to the obedience of Charlemagne,' and who 'did him good service in quelling the Saxons in Germany.' At other times, however, the framers of the Declaration reveal powers of criticism, as, for example, in determining the number of 'learned men' whom King Achaius sent to Charlemagne, and in reasoning upon the facts of the naturalisation of the 'subjects of the two nations.' There is a strangely modern ring about the complaint that 'our people have been too careless about preserving our muniments.'

The particular reference was to the privileges and exemptions of merchants: a point which reminds us that the Declaration was originally drawn up not as an academic compilation but as an instrument of practical statecraft. It was doubtless with intent to flatter the national pride and to raise the importance of the 'auld ally' in the eyes of France that stress was laid upon the part played by Scottish scholars in founding universities at Paris and Padua, upon the prowess of the Scottish warriors who

served Charlemagne against the Saracens and Saxons, upon the exploits of later generations on stricken fields of France and Italy, upon the ' fidelity and valour ' of the ' proved men ' who followed St. Louis to the Holy Land and saved his life from pagan assassins. The League was purposely represented as a thing venerable and ' without parallel in the history of any nation.'

Scotland, though insignificant among the nations, had an honourable and storied past, and the King of Scots, descended of such a long race of kings, mythical and historical, could hold his head high among the Princes of Europe. In the end it was by virtue of his royal and ancient lineage that he realised his heart's desire—the great ambition for which his mother's life was lost, and for which he himself had toiled by open and by covert means since earliest manhood. He obtained his ' birthright to the kingdom of England ' not by a declaration of Elizabeth, nor by the good offices of kindred and confederate Princes, nor by force of arms against competitors, but because the English people, wishing that ' peace and tranquillity ' might endure, thought it ' better to appropriate a king than to seek one ' : and in James VI. they found a Prince of ' the genealogy of the Kings of England ' (Nos. CXXX, CXXXIII, CXXVII).

XCII

Choisy to James VI.

21 October 1595.

He is overwhelmed by the honour of the King's letters, containing the expression of his regard, and of a desire to see him. Saving his natural allegiance, he is most closely and irrevocably bound to James, and is consumed with impatience at the delay in receiving his despatch from the King his master, and in throwing himself at the feet of the King of Scots. With proffers of lifelong devotion.

AU ROY EN ESCOSSE.

Syre, Jay tellemant este ravy daise et de contement de lhonneur quyla pleu a vostre Mageste me fayre se daignant par les lettres dont elle ma honoré se souvenyr de moy son treshumble serviteur, que je ne rescenty jamays an mon ame une sy grande joye et felicité ; laquelle je tiens incomparable a tout aultre, me voyant par l'honneur de vos lettres asseuré du chayr tresor de vos bonnes graces et que je soys si heureus destre recongnu' de vostre Magesté pour son treshumble serviteur comme je suys ; et qu'elle me fasse cet honneur de fayre paroistre le desyr quelle a de me voyr honnoré de sa veue. Aquoy oultre le devoyr naturel de ma naissance quy m'y oblige jy suys plus estroitement lye et astraint pour ne me despartyr jamays de lobeissance que je luy dois et fidelle affection que jay a son treshumble service m'acroissant de plus an plus lextresme desyr que jay de long temps de me jester aus pieds de vostre ditte Mageste et y rescevoyr l'honneur de vos commandemants, lesquels me seront loy invyolable pour y randre esternelle obeissance ainsy que je vous suplye treshumblement, Syre, me fayre cett honneur de croyre que cest toute mon ambition, et que les jours de mon retard me durent années d'attandre sy long temps les commandemants de ma despesche vers vostre Magesté du

Roy mon Souveran Seigneur,[1] et que ce ne sera jamays sy tost que je la desyre pour rescevoyr cet honneur de fayre offre de bouche et confyrmer de cueur a vostre ditte Magesté le treshumble servyce que je luy doys, ainsy que par celle cy je prans la hardiesse de len suplyer tres humblement et le ressevoyr et acxepter de telle veritable affection que je suys resolu destre et demeurer jusques au tombeau inrevocable,

Syre,

Vostre treshumble tresobeissant et tres oblige fidelle serviteur CHOISY.

de Parrys, se 21me octobre 1595.

Original, autograph signature, seal remains, slits along margins, 1 p. Vol. B, 497.

XCIII

Informatione of the maner of the surpryzing of Carlill casle in the latter end of the leat Queen Elizabethis reigne,[2] by the Lord of Bukclugh.

[13 April 1596.]

Thair was for the tyme varden of the West marches of England for the Queen, the Lord Scroop; and for the King the Lord of Bukclughe had the charge of Liddesdaell. The deputyes of thees tuo officeris having mett at a daye of treuce (as the custome was when ather the vardenis, in regaird of thair princes service, or thair awin privat distractione could nott meet themselffis or that the maters to be redresset wer but ordinarye), the place of thair meeting was at the Dayholme of Kershop whair a burne devydis Ingland from Scotland, and Liddesdaell from Beucastell. Thair mett for the Lord of Bukclughe, Robert Scott of Hayning, and for the Lord Scroop, Mr.

[1] During the summer of 1595 Henry IV. had been occupied in the recovery of Burgundy from the League. In 1593 he had professed his conversion to the Catholic Church, but it was not till 17 September 1595 that the Pope pronounced his absolution. This was soon followed by the submission of Mayenne and other Leaguers. (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iii. 660, 667-668.)

[2] 13 April 1596.

Salkeld,[1] a gentleman of that west wardenrye, that was his deputt for the tyme. Thair was mutuall treuce takken, and intimated by sound of trompett and proclamatione in thair Majesties names to the troupes on boathe sydes befoir thair meeting, as the custome was. Whairfra the meetingis wer called dayes of treuce, seing thairthroughe pairtyes on boath sydis, that uther wayes wer under deadlye fead and in querrell, did usuallye, in paece and assurance, meet and doo thair business one besyd an uther, and convers mutuallye and in assurance with such as thay had occasioune withall. Upon the treuce takken, the officeris or deputyes kept thair meeting, mead mutuall redress of such vrongis as had occurred befoir that tyme, and sinderet in verrye good termis, ather pairtye returning hamvardis. By the way is to be rememberet that the tenour of such treuces as usuallye wer takken betwixt the vardens or thair deputyes in the princes names beur that upon paine of deathe, presentlye to be executed, all persons whatsumevir, that cam to thea meetingis should be saiff for any preceiding or present occasioune from the tyme of the meeting of the vardens or thair deputyes till the nixt day at the sonne rysing, within which space it was presupposed that evrye persoune that cam thair might be returned to thair awin houss; for utherwayes, whair at thea meetingis thair wer usuallye many pairtyes that war undir fead and quarrell ane with an uther, the strongest syd might have takken advantag of the vaekness of the uther, iff the grudge had been betwixt the vardenis; or the strongest of the particular pairtyes of ather syd might, seing the veaknes of the uther thair, in his returne haimvardis towards his hous from[2] the great troup had sinderet upon any intelligence have takken the occasioune of revendge, by putting him selff in his waye. Now this treuce being thus wayis arreted, and the business done by the deputyes that they mett for, thair was one called William Armstrang of Kinmonthe, Scotsman, and a borderer, in cumpanye with

[1] Perhaps Mr. Salkelde, Sheriff of Cumberland. (*Minstrelsy*, ii. 68.)

[2] from=after the time when. A man might take occasion to waylay an enemy after he had separated from the main company.

the Scottis deputye, whom against some of the Inglishe had quarrell, as was alledgit; who being sinderet from the deput, and ryding haimvardis, his waye lying doune Liddesdaell, the which is at that pairt devydit from England but by a rever, easilye passable, called Liddell, and the Englishe deputye holding his waye doune the Englishe syd in sight and within a myle of the utheris waye, thees who had the quarrell against him—as eftervardis for a vaick excuse the deputye of England did pretend—seing him ryding on his waye but with thrie or four in cumpanye, and lipning for no harme as that day fell, thay breck a chais of moir then tuo hundreth men out of the Englishe troup, chaissis the sayd Will of Kinmonthe moir then thrie or four myll, comes to him, and takis him presoner, bringis him back to the deputye of England, who caryed him away with him prisoner to the castell of Carlill. But the verrye truth was that the Englishe deputye, thinking to doo good service by the seasing of such an notorious offender, caused breck the chaiss him selff. Whairupon, and seing the same was done to the plaine braech of the treuces, the Lord of Bukclugh, as the Kingis officer, did wryt unto Mr. Salkeld the deputye of England immediately and in absence of the Lord Scroop for the redress thairof. Mr. Salkeld by his ansur did excuse him selff and referr the mater unto the Lord Scroop varden, who for the tyme was at a houss of his awin in the cuntrye. The Lord Scroop therupon was wretten unto in the sam sense by the Lord of Bukclughe, to witt for the setting of the prisoner at libertye without conditioune or band seing he was unlawfullye takken, and consequentlye to the tuitche[1] of the king. It was ansured that he could doo no thing thairanent, seing it was so hapned by raesoune that the prisoner had been such a malefactour, without the privitye of the Queen and Counsell of England. So as his ansuris tending to delaye, the Lord of Bukclughe being loath to informe the king of the mater least the sam

[1] tuitche=prejudice. To touch, to animadvert upon. (Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.)

might have bred some mistakking betwixt the princes, he mead tryall by Mr. Robert Bowes then resident ambassadour for the Queene in Scotland, who upon his desyr and informatioune, did vryt verrye seriouslye unto the Lord Scroop for the redress of the mater, and that the mater should come to no farder heering. No thing was done or ansured till a purpose nocht the less,[1] nather upon the Kingis his Majesties awin instance towardis the varden by the ambassadour of England, eftervardis and first, and nixt to the Queen of England from his Majesties selff. Whairupon the Lord of Bukclughe being the Kingis officer, and finding his Majesties honour tuitched so apparentlye to the world, he did resolve him selff to seeck the releeff of the prisoner by the meanes whairby it was performed, and that with such forsight and regaird as could be, that through any rigorous circumstance of the actioune in regaird of the place whair he was kept that the sam should breed no greater jarr betuixt the princes then meerly that which was to grow from the simple effect of the releeff of a prisoner unlawfullye takken. And for such purpose the Lord of Bukclughe, upon intelligence that the casle of Carlill, where the prisoner was kept, was surprizable, and of the meanes, by sending some persones of trust to wiew a posterne geat, and to mesur the hight of the wall, he did immediatlye draw togidder verrye closelye a tuo hundreth hors, assinged the place of meeting an hour befoir sone sett at the tour of Mortone, the which is ten mylis from Carlill, and upon the water of Sark in the Debaetable Land, whair he had his preparatioune of ledderis for skaling the casle wall, and of uther instrumentis of yron for brecking through the wall or forcing of geatis, iff need had been. The troup being assembled at the place, he marcheth forwardis and entereth Inglishe grund within sex myll of Carlill, and passes the watter of Esk,

[1] *i.e.*, Nevertheless, nothing to the purpose was done or answered. In the *Border Minstrelsy* version the rest of the sentence reads (more intelligibly), 'neither upon the Kingis his masters awin instance towards the warden, by the ambassador of England first, and afterwards to the Queen of England by his Majesties selfe.' (vol. ii. 42.)

whair the Grhames did inhabit, at the falling of the night. Fra he entered Inglishe grund the ordour was thus: thair was sent some few horsmen befoir all the waye to discover, and they wer secondet by a fourtye or fyftye horses in cace of any rencounter; thair was nixt them the ledderis, caried tua and tua upon a hors, and hors carieing the uther instrumentis mentioned befoir, and last of all him selff with the rest of the troupe. He marched on in this ordour, and passeth the water of Edin about a tuo houris befoir day, at the Stenix Banck,[1] benaeth Carlill brig, the water being at that tyme through raines that had fallen vell thick. He comes to the Sacerye, a plaine place, an under the toune and casle, and haltis upon the syd of a litle water or burne that thay call Cadaye. Thair he makis about a fourscoir men to light from thair horses, tak the ledderis and uther instrumentis with them, and accumpanyes them him selff to the foot of the wall, makis first the ledderis to be sett to the wall and essayed, whillest the sentinellis war in the top of the wall above them looking over, and crying and speaking one to an uther; bot that it hapned to fall to be verrye dark in that hindnight and a litle mistie. The ledderis proved to short through the errour of them who had been sent to mesur the wall, and could not reatch the top of the wall, and then ordour was givin for to mak use of the uther instrumentis that wer caryed for opening the wall a litle hard by the posterne, the which being sett in the way. The Lord of Bukclugh, seing that the mater was lyklye to succeed well, and that no discoverye was, did retir him selff till about a saxkoir of men,[2] that he had reserved to stand on horsback with him selff for the seurtye of them that he had sent upon the casle, against[3] the sorting of the toune, and so patt him selff and the hors-

[1] The *Minstrelsy* version reads *Stonie bank*; and the ballad has *Stane-schawbank*. There is, however, a place named Stanwix Bank on the Eden, near Carlisle.

[2] *i.e.*, retired to join about sixscore men.

[3] in readiness for. The *Minstrelsy* version reads, 'against the forceing of the toun.'

men betwixt the posterne of the casle and the nixt port of the toune, upon the plaine feeld, to assuir the retreat of his awin from the casle againe, who wer sent also in such competent number as was knowin to be able to maister them that war within the casle, togidder with a trumpet to give a greater terrour to them of the casle upon occasioune, and to give a signal' unto them that wer without upon thair entrye, who did thairupon also correspond upon the first sound of the trumpett with a crye and noyse, the moir to confirm his awin that war gone upon the casle, and to terrifye boath the casle and toune by an imaginatioune of a greater force. They entered the casle, the first of them single by the overtur that was maed, and then brack open immediatlye the posterne with such instrumentis as was fitt, to mak passage to the greater number. Thair did occur to them at thair first entrye alainerlye the watchmen or sentinellis, and some utheris efter upon the alarme, and mead some resistance with the vapons they had. But efter thay wer putt back and skattered the rest that wer within dooris, heering the noyse of the trumpet within, and the casle was entered, and the noyse of voices without, boath the Lord Scroop him selff, and his warden deputye Salkeld, being thair with the garisoune and his awin retenue, did keep them selffis closse. The prisoner was takken out of the house whair he was kept, the which was knowin by the Lord of Bukclugh sending a woman upon pretext to visit the prisoner a day befoir; who reporting what place he was kept in, thair lakt not persones aneugh thair that knew all the roumes, and so went directlye efter the rancounter with the watchmen and some uther with them that cam to the alarm efterwardis to the place, and broght him furth, and so by the postern gaet awaye.

Somen uther prisoneris wer broght out that were takken in the rancounter, the which wer presentlye returned into the casle againe by the Lord of Bukclugh, and any uther spoyll or buting[1] hinderet also; yea not so much as any

[1] buting=looting. To bute=to divide, share spoils.

uther door that was open within the casle entered, but that quhair the prisoner was, the which was broken up; nor uther door that was shutt was so much as knockt at, thought thay that enteret might have takken prisoner the warden and all the persones that wer thair, and mead pray of the heall goodis, seing thay wer maisteris of the casle. Such was the regaird of the Lord of Bukclugh and the strict ordour he gave, being present him selff, that he wald not have any circumstance to fall out in that actioune, in so far as it could have been eshewed, that could have given the least cause of offence, ather to the king his maister, or to the leat Queen.[1] By which tyme of bringing furth the prisoner the toune and Casle was in a great stur and alarme, and was a putting them selffis in armes; drummis wer beating, bellis ringing, and beallis [2] putt upon the top of the casle to warne the cuntrye. The day was broken, and so the interpryze having so well succeedit the Lord of Bukclughe, efter that thay that went upon the casle and the prisoner wer retired and horsed, marched closs by the Sacerye again to the rever, at the Stenix Banck, whair, upon the alarme in the casle and toune, som wer assembled upon the farr syd in the passage. And so unto that tyme having retired him selff closs and without any noyse from the casle, he causis sound up his trumpett befoir he took the rever, it being yet boath mistie and dark though the day was broken, to the end boath to encourag his awin and to lett them that wer abyding him upon the passage knaw that he looked for, and was to receave any charg that thay should offer him, whairupon they mead chois to look to him and give him way, and not adventur upon so doutfull an event with him, who

[1] His action did, however, not unnaturally, give offence. 'At last James' spirit quelled under the impetuous remonstrance of the queen; and the Border chief was first committed to ward in the castle of St. Andrews, and afterwards sent on parole to England, where he remained till the outrages of the English Borderers rendered his services as warden absolutely necessary to preserve the country from havoc.' (Tytler, ix. 199.) He returned to Scotland early in November 1596. See the details in *Border Papers*, ii. *ad indices*. Cf. *Minstrelsy*, ii. 48-53.

[2] beallis = bales, beacons.

behufed to retir him haimvardis and not ludg thair, iff he could chuse, efter such an usage of his host. So having passed the river, within a litle the day began to grow light, and he did retir him selff in ordour, through the Grhames of Esk and Leven, and cam back to Scottis grund at about a tuo houris efter the sone rysing and so haimvardis.

Copy, after 1603, $3\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Vol. B, 317.

A similar account, with minor textual differences, is printed, 'from a manuscript of the period, the property of Mr. Campbell of Shawfield,' in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ii. 42 (edited, T. F. Henderson, 1902); cf. Spottiswoode, iii. 1; Tytler, ix. 198. There is another MS. copy in *Scottish Historical Miscellanies*, in H.M. General Register House.

XCIV

Mandate declared by James Lord Ogilvy and Mr. Peter Young to Christian IV., 1596

To convey felicitations upon his coronation, and apologies for the absence of the King and Queen of Scots. To ask for help in ships and men against the Isles next summer. To confer anent the enmity to Elizabeth and to preserve the immunity of tributes there. See No. VII, Part VIII.

XCV

James VI. to Huntly

2 October 1596.

Bethink you how I have 'incurred skaith and hazarde for your cause, and presentlie quhat estait I ame in for it.' [1]

[1] James's leniency with the Catholic Earls, and their renewed plotting, had given great dissatisfaction to the Kirk. (Tytler, ix. 165-167.) At last in March 1595 Huntly and Errol went into exile during the King's pleasure. Their livings, says Calderwood, 'were givin by way of factorie to the duke. He againe made their wives intrometters therewith. So their livings were taikin up to their owne use.' (v. 363; cf. *P.C.*, v. 208 and n., 209 and n.; *A.P.S.*, iv. 99.) This arrangement, however, 'had never been intended

In short, between now and the appointed day make up your mind either to satisfy the Kirk, or to betake yourself to any other land where you may enjoy freedom of conscience.[1] In the latter case your wife and family shall enjoy your patrimony, but you yourself need never look 'to be ane Skottisman againe.' Do not delude yourself that by driving time your wife and allies may obtain better terms for you. I must 'love myself and my awin estait bettir then all the warlde,' and I can never 'suffer any professing a contraire religion to duell in this lande.' But if you obey me in this, you may again enjoy your 'good estait,' and do me service, as I heartily wish. I remit all

to be final. Huntly, in especial, as Lennox's brother-in-law and the King's intimate friend, was to be brought back as soon as possible. That, accordingly, was one of the feats of the Octavian government'—the administration of the eight Commissioners of Exchequer who succeeded the Chancellor. (*P.C.*, v. liii.) Huntly slipped back into Scotland in disguise in the summer of 1596, and when his return was 'divulgat, the ministrie soundit and cryed michtelie out of thair pulpitis thairvpone.' (Moysie, 127.) In a Convention at Falkland in August, 'Alexander Setoun, then President of the Sessioun, afterward Chanceller, made a prepared harangue, to perswade the king and estats to call home these erles. . . . In end, the estats conclude, that the king and the kirk being satisfied, it were best to call them home, and that his Majestie sould heare their offers for that effect.' Andrew Melville, as the representative of the extreme Presbyterians, made an audacious protest against these proceedings as 'treason both against Christ and the king, and kirk and countrie.' (Calderwood, v. 437-438; Spottiswoode, iii. 7-9; and references in *P.C.*, v., Moysie, and Tytler.)

[1] A convention of Estates at Dunfermline on 29 September had ratified the decision taken at Falkland on 12 August 'concerning certane offeris presentit in name of george sumtyme erll of huntlie And of his petitioun and sute Twiching his hienes licence tobe grantit to him for his repairing and returning within this realme.' (*A.P.S.*, iv. 101.) Spottiswoode says that the King considered Huntly's original offers too general, and 'would have particular conditions condescended upon, such as may serve for the security of religion, mine own honour, and the tranquillity of the country. Such conditions being offered, and security found for performance, I should then think that license might be granted him to return, he being confined in such a part of the country as should be thought most convenient.' The convention at Falkland adopted this advice, 'remitting the conditions to be formed by his highness and the lords of council,' and ratified the same at Dunfermline on 29 September. (iii. 9.) Huntly was to subscribe to the conditions within six months. The terms offered to him are printed in *Analecta Scotica*, I., No. LXXXVII, p. 297; cf. *P.C.*, v. 329; xiv. 380; Spottiswoode, iii. 13-14. See also following document.

else to the bearer; do as he will tell you, if you wish your own good.

Holograph, dated wrongly under year 1597. Vol. C.

Printed as Letter XVII in Miss Warrender's *Illustrations*. A shorter form is printed in Spottiswoode, iii. 47-48.

XCVI

From the King anent Huntly

[*c.* October 1596.]

Rex,

Forsamekle as in the imprentit articles concerning ordour taking with George sumtyme erle of Huntlie, the place of the warding of the said erle and als of the remaining of his eldest sone as pledge and hostage for him, is remittit to oure pleisoure, quhairbye necessar it is the same be declairet: We be thir presentis ordanes and appointis the place of the said sumtyme erleis waird to be benorthe the watter of Dei, and the place of the remaining of his said sone to be with , conforme to the saidis articles and obligatione of the said sumtyme erle his cawtioneris following thairupon. And becaus of the saidis articles it is alswa appointit that his first cawtioneris sall stand oblist incace efter lawfull tryell it be fundin that he sen his last depairting out of this cuntrie hes onye wayes traffekit with strangeris or utheris for subversione of the religione or alteratione of the estate, na certane tyme being prefixit to the taking of the said tryell, lyk as alswa it is ordanit that the said erle sall compeir personallie befoir ws and oure secreit counsale qwhensoever he sall be lawfullie chairget for tryell of his contraventione of onye of the saidis articles, to the quhilk tryell in lyk maner na certane tyme is limitat: Thairfoir to haife appointit the tyme of bayth the saidis tryellis to be betuix this and the daye of nixtocum[1] in the yeir 1597;

[1] Probably 1 April, the last day for intimating his choice whether to satisfy the Kirk or go into exile. (*P.C.*, v. 329; Spottiswoode, iii. 14.)

The warding of himself and his eldest son; the finding of cautioners;

efter the quhilk tyme, na tryell being socht nor taine be ws of his foirsaid traffeking or contravening of the saidis articles, we declair his cawtioneris to be frie thairof and never to be trublet for that pairt of the saidis articles in ony tyme thairefter in sa far as the same concernis his traffeking with strangeris or utheris for subversione of the religione or alteratione of the estait sen his last passing out of this realme, or his personale compeirance befoir ws and oure counsale for the tryel of his contraventione of the saidis articles; but prejudice of the said cautione to stand oblist for all the rest of the saidis heidis and articles according to the tenor of thair obligatione.

JAMES R.

Original, autograph signature, 1 p. Vol. A, 315.

XCVII

Instructiones to Patrik Murray[1] to be proponit to the ministeris of the north, speciallie to the Presbyterie of Abirdeine 15 Januarij 1596.

15 January [1596-7.]

1. Inprimis ye sall schawe to thame the act of this last conventione of oure nobilitie ordeinand all ministeris to acknawlege oure authoritie in all materis of seditione or tressone and uther civill and criminale maiteris and in all thair speaches quhilk maye import thais crymes, albeit utteret be thame in pulpit, according to the forme of ane band[2] found ressonable be oure counsale to be subscryvet be the saidis ministeris under paines of tinsale of all thair

and the standing of his trial for investigation of his 'traffeking' during his exile were all points in the conditions to be fulfilled by Huntly.

[1] Sir Patrick Murray, brother of David Murray, afterwards Viscount Stormont, was an active agent of the King in Kirk matters, and Calderwood dubs him 'the diligent Apostle of the North.' (v. 606.)

[2] Calderwood prints 'the just copie of the band,' acknowledging the King as 'soverane judge' in civil and criminal matters; and also 'certane reasons penned at the same tyme why that none of the ministrie can subscribe the foresaid band.' (v. 522.)

stipendis and benefices, quhilk band ye sall present to thame and desyre thame to subscryve the same.

2. Item, ye sall schawe thame the greit sclaunder quhilk the ministeris of the towne hes done to the religione be the steiring up of the last uproare of the peple in Edinburgh aganis ws oure nobilitie and counsale, and be thair seditious preicheing convocatione of our baronis out of the pulpit and exhorting of the raskall of the towne to armour and thair wryting to the Lord Hamiltoun and utheris of our nobilitie to mak ane plaine rebellione against us: quhilk crymes thai haif acceptit upon thame and ar denuncet to the horne and fugitive fra oure lawes for the same.[1] And

[1] This is a reference to the tumult in Edinburgh on 17 December 1596. (See No. CLII.) The underlying causes are rather complicated. Calderwood states that some of the Cubiculars, or courtiers of the household, including Sir Patrick Murray, 'finding themselves prejudged by the Octavians, who had the menaging of the king and queene's patrimonie, sought by all meanes to kindle a fire betuixt them and the kirk.' (v. 510.) Cf. Spottiswoode, iii. 27; and account given in *P.C.*, v. 349 n., 350 n. At the same time there was a quarrel between King and Kirk, centring round the person of Mr. David Black; and a difference of opinion as to the treatment of the excommunicated Earls. The letter sent by Bruce and other ministers to Hamilton made a statement of the Kirk's case, and begged him as 'a cheefe noble man to countenance the mater against these counsellers' to whose 'malice' they attributed their hardships. Lord Hamilton gave the King a copy of this letter 'vitiated and adulterated.' Wodrow says that 'from this copy, the misrepresentations and triumphs of the prelatic party are taken most groundlessly,' and declares that the reports circulated in Holland were 'a heap of scandal gathered up from the Popish Lords, and other haters of the ministers about the Court.' Bruce wrote to Hamilton on 27 December that 'what inconveniences have ensued on me, or shall ensue hereafter, either to me or the good cause, I ascribe all to that deed,' namely, the vitiating of the copy until 'scarcely it keeps the right portraiture of my letter.' The Presbyterian Wodrow sums up that 'nothing could be found to make any citizen, let be any minister, guilty of any conspiracy, or forethought uproar: but only they feared a massacre, and the invasion of their ministers; and in the time of the confusion two or three uttered rash and inconsiderate speeches, as is usual in such cases, and the Octavians gave it out that the Cubiculars raised the tumult, and yet the ministers must bear the blame of all.' (*Life of Bruce*, 50, 55-57; Wodrow Society, 1843.) On 20 December, Bruce and others implicated were charged to enter in ward in Edinburgh Castle, under pain of horning, but Bruce was persuaded to take refuge in England. (Calderwood, v. 520-521; *P.C.*, v. 353.)

The King used the tumult as an opportunity to proceed against the Kirk.

thairfoir ye sall desyre the saidis ministrie of the north and presbyterie of Abirdeine be thair act and declaration to disallowe all sic seditious and tressonable proceidingis, specialie in the persones of the saidis ministeris of Edinburgh, that be thair taciturnitie and overpassing of sic greit sclanderis thei appeir nocht to allowe of the same.

3. Item, quhair we was informit that the erle of Huntlies ressonable offeris to satisfie the kirk [1] was refuset be the said presbyterie upon sum quiet promeis maid to the ministeris of Edinburgh that the said satisfactione sould nocht be ressavet without thair advyse, we can not beleive that the said presbyterie of Abirdein will acknawlege ony supremacie of the ministeris and presbyterie of Edinburgh abone thame, quhilk being altogidder unlawfull, we oure nobilitie and estaitis will never allowe thairof. As to the pretendit commissioners of the generale assemblie thair commissione is fund and decernit be ws and oure counsale to have beine unlawfull fra the begining and thairfoir lawfullie dischairget be ws, quhilk act ye sall in lyk maner schawe to the same presbyterie.[2] Sua thair is na present

He caused Parliament to declare it an act of treason, committed ' be the violence of ane Rascall multitude in armes at the instigatioun of certane seditious ministeris and baronis.' (*A.P.S.*, iv. 103.)

[1] On 9 December, Mr. Peter Blackburn and Bishop Cunningham declared to the Commissioners of the Kirk ' that there was conference ' with Huntly, but that they ' had referred the conclusioun to his Majestie and the Generall Assemblie.' (Cf. following document.) The Commissioners, however, ordered them to postpone proceedings ' untill the tyme the advice and licence of the whole kirk, in Generall Assemblie, were craved and obteaned.' (Calderwood, v. 498-499.) The proceedings of the Convention at Dunfermline had not met with ' the consent and approbatioun of the ministrie ' as a whole. They feared ' the pride and strength ' of Huntly as a menace to ' religioun ' and the public safety, ' for remeed wherof, it was found necessar that everie presbyterie within the countrie sould be acquainted heerwith.' (*Ibid.*, 504-505.).

[2] A ' council of the Church ' was established in October 1596 by commissioners of the General Assembly in order to obviate ' the dangers threatened to religion ' upon the return of the excommunicated Earls, ' to the manifest hazard both of Church and state, considering their continuance in the same disposition to work mischief as before.' It was resolved that ' a number of commissioners selected out of all the quarters of the country should reside at Edinburgh, and convene every day with some of the presbytery of Edinburgh, to receive such advertisements as should be sent from other places, and take counsel upon the most expedient in every case.' (Spottiswoode, iii. 9-10 ; Calderwood, v. 443-448.)

power or awthoritie abone the said presbyterie of Abirdein to staye thame to accept the said erles ressonable satisfactione incace the same be offerit, sen we and oure counsale hes commandit thame to accept the same presentlie that the haill bodie of oure realme maye be of new unit in religione and policie.

4. Item, quhair ane dilaye is intendit qwhill the generale assemblie upon pretence of the proces of excommunicatione ratifiet be the said assemblee, it is nawayes ressonable that thair sould be mair dilaye in the ressaveing and absolutione of the penitent sinner nor was uset in the excommunicatione of him, bot far greiter haist sould be uset in the said absolutione nor was uset in the said excommunicatione, gif the rewle of the scripture be observet. Thairfoir as ane presbyterie [1] uset the excommunicatione to the quhilk the said erle was not subject : [2] lat the said uther presbyterie [1] of Abirdein (to quhais jurisdictione the said erle is subject) receave [from] him in lyk maner the satisfactione and give him the absolutione quhilk may be efterward ratifyet be the generall assemblie, as the said sentence of excommunicatione was not ratifiet be the generall assemblie qwhill monie monethis efter the pronunceing thairof be the presbyterie of S. Androis within quhais jurisdictione the said erle maid na residence.

5. Qwhair ony dout may be castin in qwhat forme of satisfactione is ressonable in sic a caice of apostasie fra religione and plaine rebellione to ws, the said dout is resolved be ane act of oure parliament maid in the yeir of God 1572,[3] intitulat anent the disobedientis quhilk sall be ressavet to oure soverane lordis mercie and pardone, quhilk act is imprentit amangis the rest of the actis maid in favour of the kirk, quhairin it is expreslie ordanit that

[1] *presbyterie*, written and crossed out.

[2] He was excommunicated by the Synod of Fife in September 1593. (Calderwood, v. 263-268.) The General Assembly ratified the sentence on 9 May 1594. (*Ibid.*, 309 ; *Booke of Univ. Kirk*, 821.)

[3] *A.P.S.*, iii. 72.

befoir sic persones that hes maid defectione fra our obedience and hes bein excommunicat be ressavit to our mercie and favour thai sall give the confessione of thair fayth of new and promeis to continewe in the confessione of the trew religione in tyme cuming, mainteine oure authoritie, and that thai sall at thair uttermaist of thair power fortifie assist and mentein the trewe precheris and professouris of Christis religione against qwhatsumever enimies etc., as at mair lenth is contenit in the said act, quhilk expreslie comprehendis the forme of satisfactione quhilk sould be uset be thame qwha bayth hes maid rebellione aganis ws and also is excommunicat be the kirk, swa that na dout nor dilaye justlie can be pretended upon the forme of the said satisfactione.

6. Item, ye sall present to the said presbyterie the questiones anent the policie of the kirk laitlie imprentit,[1] quhilk we intend to have freindlie decyded and aggriet upon betuix ws and the haill ministrie at the nixt conventione of our estaitis and generall assemblie, quhilk we haife appointit to be at Perthe the last of Februar; to the quhilk ye sall desyre the said presbyterie to send a pairt of the maist discreit of thair number. Ye sall also schawe that we haif convenit heir a number of the discreitest ministeris owt of all presbyteries of the cuntrie hereabout, qwha haveing seine thais questiones hes declaret to ws that thair will be litle questione bot the haill ministrie will aggrie to oure intentione in all thais contraversies.

7. Item, ye sall schawe that we haif grauntit ane commissione for the plat [2] of this yeir, to the quhilk thai

[1] Calderwood prints the fifty-five questions put forward by the King, and some answers given to them. His commentary is that 'these questiouns, penned by Mr. Johne Lindsay, Secretar, tended to the overthrow of the established discipline.' (v. 596.) The questions are also found in Spottiswoode, iii. 41.

[2] The 'plat' was a scheme 'for planting of kirks . . . with sufficient rents for [the] honest sustentatioun' of their ministers. The 'new and constant platt' of 1596 was drawn up by the Secretary, Mr. John Lindsay, but came to nothing, although it was 'thought the best and most exact that ever was devised or sett doun, and, some little things amended, would

may send for the effairis of thair awin presbyterie as thai war in use of befoir, qwhairin thai and everie ane of thame sall find oure speciall favour as the beirer heirof will schawe mair particularlie, sen our intentione is fullie to alter na thing of oure gud will to the haill ministrie, notwithstanding of the greit wrang quhilk we haif ressaifet of the insolent ministeris of Edinburgh, qwhais advyse we beleive the presbyterie of Abirdein will nocht now seik in ony maiteris, sen thai ar denuncet oure rebellis and fugitives fra our lawes as said is.

JAMES R.

Original, autograph signature, 2 pp. Vol. A, 301.

XCVIII

Mr. P. Blakburne and others to certain brethren

30 January 1596-7.

TO THE RYCHT HONORABLE THERE WEILBELOVET BRETHER MRIS. DAVID LYNDESAY, ROBERT PONT, PATRICK GALLOWAY, ROBERT ROLLOK ETC. AT LEITH OR EDINBURGH.

The michtie comfort and perpetuall increase of the halye Spirit be with yow.

Brether, this is to advertise yow how we of this ministrie in this contray are chargit be his Majesties letters under pain of horning to give conference to the Erle of Huntly, and farder are informed that he hes his Majesties letters to charge us to receave his offeris and give thay be agreiable with Godis word and weil of the contray to absolve him fra the sentence of excommunication, or then to compeir within fyftein dayis nixt efter the charge befoir his Majestie and consell and to give a reason quhy we will nocht do the same. Farder, we are informed be sum of

have beene gladlie receaved by the brethrein of best judgement.' (Calderwood, v. 420-433.)

his freyndis that he will offer to subscryve the Confessioun and cawtion of his freyndis for bygain offences as the kirk sall injoyne; albeit we sei nocht as yet that he is resolvit in the articles of the Confession in particular. And therfor we being heir a few number conveinit to haif given conference to him, nocht seing him sa instant in suiting therof, as be petitionis given in to us and subscryvit be him, quhereof ye sall receave with thir presentis a just copie, craiving of us that we wald absolve him for the caussis therein conteinit, desyred of him a day to convein our brether of all our presbyteries that with common advyse we micht give answer. Also Patrik Murray his Majesties domestic hes shawin us sindrye instructionis of his Majestie, craiving our answer to the same, quha therfor requeired of us that we sould assemble our selfis, and that he had in commission to requeir our brether of Murray to convein with us and to receave of them and us answeris to his instructionis, quhairbe we are chargit to subscryve the band, to disalow the ministeris of Edinburghis doingis as seditiouse and traisonable procedingis, also declairing the nulling of the commission of the commissionaris of the generall assemblye be his Majestie and consell and consequently of anye inhibition maid be tham to stay us fra receaving of the Erle Huntly etc., and that na delay be langar usit in his receaving be us then be the presbyterie of Sanctandros was in his excommunication, and that the absolution may be ratifeit heir eftir in the generall assemblie as the excommunication was afoir, lang efter the sentence pronuncit. Item, that we sould not dowt quhat forme of satisfaction he sould make, seing the act of parliament maid *anno* 1572, intituled anent disobedientis quhilk sall be receavit to our soverane lordis mercie and pardon, declairis the same: quhilk is na thing els bot to subscryve the Confession of Fayth and sweir accordingly. Item, we are chargit to resolve the questionis printed be his Majestie again [1] the last of Februar at Perth, and shawing us that a number of all presbyterieis there with yow maist discreit

[1] again=by.

hes affirmit that there [is] lytle question bot the hail ministrie will aggrei to his Majesties intention in all these contraversieis. Quherfor we haif writtin bayth to our brether of the Mernis and of Murray to send sum of their number best instructed to keip heir with us our provinciall assembly to begin the aucht day of this nixt Februar with common advyse to give answer bayth to his Majesties instructionis and to the Erle of Huntly his petitionis,[1] and for the same cause hes written to yow and the brether there for your consell and aide, and namelie that ye will imploy your credit with sik uther brether as are maist graciouse to his Majestie to obtein a continuation of all thir chargis and answeris till the generall assembly nixt at Perth, specialy seing my lord Huntly is nocht resolvit in the dowtis of religion and we are readye to give him daylie conference to that effect. This day he was at the sermonis in our kirk bayth afoir and efter nown and hard the doctrine and removit him self at the prayer, and we hoip gif he be fond willing afoir the tyme appointed to the generall assemblie to do meikle till . . . for [2] his resolution. Bot gif ye can nocht get us continuation of his Majestie, we pray yow send us your consell and of the brether maist discreit there with yow with all diligence that we may haif the same afoir the aucht of Februar. In the mean tyme commendis our selfis to your earnest prayeris to God as we do lykewyse pray for yow, in quhaise mercifull and michtie protection we commit yow. From Abredein the penult of Januar 1596.

Your brether and fellow laboraris

M. Robert Houye

P. Blakburne in his awin name and name of the haill brether conveinit.

Holograph in hand of Blakburne, with autograph signature of Houye, part of seal remains, 1 p. Vol. A, 302.

[1] See following document.

[2] Margin of page destroyed. '. . . for' may be the final syllable of some verb meaning to promote. The sense is: we hope to do much to advance his resolution.

XCIX

Huntly's Petition

[? *c.* January 1596-7.]

Unto your visdomes my ecclesiastic judges in this dioceis your loving freind George erll of Huntley exhibitis the desyris and offeris subsequent.

I desyir and crawe that your visdomes will resaive my satisfactioun and absolve me presentlie fra the pretendit sentence of excommunicatioun pronuncit aganis me and that in maist humble maner. Quhilk, gif your visdomes will accept to do, I will satisfie for ony alledgit brek or offerris [*sic*: read *offencis*] quhilk may be imput to me be your visdomes in ony tymes bypast in sic forme as the lawis of the realme settis doun, and according to your visdomes guid discretioun crawing your visdomes ressonable answer heirof.

Siclyik I complein that the presbyterie of Sanctandrois in thair pretendit maner hes pronuncit ane sentence of excommunicatioun aganis me for certane causis specifeit thairin and that maist vrangouslie becaus the said presbyterie is nocht my judge competent nather hes usit the premonitionis and censuris ecclesiastick requisit in sic ane wechtie proceiding as the drawing of the spirituall sword importis, and albeit the said onlawfull excommunicatioun is alledgit to be ratifeit be ane generall assemblie, yit your honouris knawis that *confirmatio nihil novi juris tribuit*, quhairfor desyris yow quha ar my judges competent that ye will lauchtfullie undo that quhilk the presbyterie of Sanctandrois hes maist onlawfullie done, and grant me the benefit of restitutioun *ad statum pristinum*, crawing your visdomes ressonable answer heirof.

Sic subscribitur HUNTLYE.

Copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 306. Undated, but probably the 'petitionis' referred to in the previous document.

C

Mr. Secretary Lindsay to Sir Patrick Murray

2 February 1596-7.

TO THE RICHT HONORABLE PATRIK MURRAY GENTILMAN OF HIS MAJESTIES CHAMER.

Richt honorable Sir, efter my hairtly commendations I recevit your letters and aine command of his Majeste to send yow sik missives and letters as ye desyr, quhilk pleas receive heirwith: to wit, aine chairge against sik as ye pleas to subscryve the band vithin sex days, and gif thei failzei to denunce them to the horn. Item, the authentik copie of the said band quhilk thei suld subscryve. Item, aine letter to chairge al magistrates provest and bailyeas of bruchis send gentilmen of pouer a landwart to repres ther licentius preaching against his Majeste and counsel, vith missives of his Majeste to al your presbiteries in the north, schawand his Majesteis wil to receive al penitent sinners vith particuler letters to the bischop and minister of Abirdein. As ye desyr.

As for oni alteration heir, ther is naine. For give ther vas oni fair wordis spokin betuix his Majeste and sum of the ministers ther pairt hes noch bein weil keipit, for thei have lattin nain preatche in Edinburgh hitherto as his Majeste ernistlie desyrit. Bot oni particular man that vald stay that gud wark quhilk ye haive in hand, ye have a moyen be thir letters to correct his wilfulnes and to gar his eschet and benefice fal in his Majesteis handis. Therfor follou out your instructions as diligentlie as his Majeste is assurit ye wil do. Sua I commit yow to Gods protection. From Halyrudhous the 2 of Februar 1596.

Your frind at pouer

J LINDESAY.[1]

[1] John Lindsay of Balcarres, Parson of Menmure, Secretary, a member of the Octavian administration. These eight Auditors of the Exchequer had demitted office at the beginning of January. (*P.C.*, v. 357, lviii.) At this date he was planning to go to France, ostensibly on a commercial

I pray yow requeist my lord Huntlie to give direction to his servantis that the lady Edzel my gudsister [1] receive na wrang in hir fisching in Spey, as I salbe redie to do his lordschip service. I vil lippen that ye wil sei this don.

Your sending at this tyme vas Skairbruchis varning, for I gat noch your letter quhil sex houris this day at nicht, and al thir letters befor mentionat man be vrytten out to yow the morn befor my lady tak hir jornai.

It is his Majesteis wil that my lord of Huntlie send heir to his Majeste the offers to be maid to the erle of Murray that his Majeste may caus traivel in that mater, quhilk noch beand at ane point wil ever stay his lordschipis cumming to his Majesteis presence.

Ye sal be also veri war [2] in using of thir letters and chairges against the ministers, and use them noch except in gryt necessitei that ye can noch do utherways, and against sum particuler evil villers alanerlie, and bring them al agane vith yow to this toun, vith this my letter quhilk ye sal render to my self quhen ye cum heir.

Holograph, slits along margin, 1 p. Vol. A, 316.

CI

James VI. to Sir Patrick Murray

3 February 1596-7.

TO OUR TRUSTY SERVITOUR SIR PATRIK MURRAY GENTILMAN OF OUR CHALMER.

Trusty and weilbelovit servitour we greit you hartlie wele. Ye sall ressave certane actis of our counsale chairges and proclamationis quhilkis we have nawayes promeist to discharge as is reportit. And caus the same be put to

embassy, really for the sake of his health. He, however, 'remained in Scotland all through 1597,' to be 'the real working intellect among the Scottish statesmen in the difficult business of the Kirk.' (*P.C.*, v. lxx-lxxi.)

[1] The wife of his brother, Sir David Lindsay of Edzell.

[2] war=wary.

full executioun and publishit in thai partis quher ye ar presentlie with all diligence. And heirwithall ye sall insist maist instantlie with the ministrie of the synodole assemblie thair convenit to embrace and gif obedience to our instructionis directed with you, that materis contraverted may be the bettir setled and put to ane point, as ye will do ws gude plesure and service. Sua resting assured of your care and diligence heiranent we commit you to God. From Halyruidhous the third of Februar 1596.

JAMES R.

It is farder our wil that ye remember the erle of Huntlie to send heir vith diligence his offers to the erle of Murray that trawel may be tain to aggrei that mater.

Original, autograph signature, traces of seal remain, ½ p. Vol. A, 300.

CII

For Huntly 1596. Instrumentis of his offer

10 February 1596-7.

Apud Abirdene decimo die mensis Februarii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto.

The quhilk day in presence of ws connotaris and witnessis undervretin comperit personallie the richt honorabill Johne Leslye of Balquhyne and Sir Thomas Gordoun of Cluny knycht commissionaris and procuratouris laufullie constitut be George Erll of Huntlye havand his power to the effect undervretin, and past to the personall presence of the ministerie of the diocie of Abirdene and sum of the ministrie of the diocie of Murray assemblit and convenit within the sessioun hous of the kirk of the burght of Abirdene. And their as procuratouris and commissionaris forsaid [1] *offerit that the said erll was presentlie willing to satisfie the kirk according to his Majesties lawis and ordinances in all poyntis*,[1] quhairunto the ministrie answerit that

[1] Underlined in the original.

thay had pennit and delyverit thair answer alreddie in that mater to Patrik Murray his Majesties commissionar.[1] Upon the quhilkis the saidis commissionaris in name of the said erll tuik nottis and instrumentis in the handis of ws connotaris undersubscryvand. This was done in the sessioun hous forsaid at ten houris befoir nune or therby befoir thir witnessis: the said Patrik Murray Johne Leslye apperand of Balquhyne James Rutherfurd servitour to the said laird of Balquhyne maister Robert Gairdyne of Balnamoir and Gilbert Bairnis burges of Abirdene.

Ita est magister Thomas Mollisoneus scriba communis burgi de Abirdene notarius publicus ac testis ad premissa requisitus et rogatus.

Ita est Magister Guilielmus Reid scriba curie vicecomitatus de Abirdeine notarius publicus ac testis in premissis rogatus et requisitus.

Ita est Valterus Robertsoun connotarius publicus in premissis burgique de Aberdene scriba substitutus ad premissa requisitus testantibus meis signo et chirographo quibus in talibus utor.

Copy, with a copy of the notarial sign of Walter Robertson, clerk depute of Aberdeen, 1 p. Vol. A, 319.

CIII

Answer to the King from the ministers of the northe after the sevinteint day 1596

[*c.* 17 February 1596-7.]

Pleis your Majestie we have resavit with all reverence your graces instructiones directit with your Majesties servitour Patrik Murray, togider with his crediet to this our assemblie. And as to the erle of Huntlies mater be

[1] See reference in following document to their 'particular letter' anent the 'erle of Huntlies matter.'

our particular letter to your Majestie theranent hes wrettin our haill procedingis, as your Majestie will perceave therbie. As also we have resavit your Majesties buik of questiones, and sall, God willing, be our commissioners kepe the dyett appoyntit at Perthe [1] be your Majestie for the generall assemblie *to resolve therin*.[2] In lykmaner we have conferrit at lenthe baith with your Majesties servitour and amanges our selfes anent the instructioun of the band, and the uther tuiching the ministeris of Edinburghe, nocht dowtting bot your Majesties servitour will testefie our willingnes to plesour your Majestie in all thinges that possiblie we may do off guid conscience, beseiking therfoir your Majestie to ressave in guid pairte off ws your Majesties maist humill subjectis this our answeres subsequente to the first twa instructiones as all that we may do lawfullie for the presente.

1. As to the first anent the subscriptioun of the band, we answer: that quhen we wer callit to the ministrie we geff our aithe for the acknowleging of the kingis majesties autoritye, quhilk aithe we ratefie presentlie,[3] acknowleging and professing befoir God and man that King James the Saxte is just and wndowttit heritour off the crowne of Scotland, supreme magistrat over ws and all the inhabitantes of the samyn, promesing our loyall obedience in the Lord to your Majestie in our selfes and to procuir the samyn amang our flokes to our power.

2. As to the jugement of our speches in pulpeitt, quhat-

[1] This was an 'extraordinary' Assembly, convened by the King, and packed by 'the ministers of the Northe . . . everie one of them great courteours.' (Calderwood, v. 606.)

[2] The words in italics are underlined in the original.

[3] It is here that this answer differs from those printed by Calderwood, where it is stated that 'the craving of subscriptioun to this band would import an unduetifull impairing, or denyall of his Hienesse' authoritie by the ministers in tymes past. . . . We would indirectlie confesse our selves guiltie of the cryme of lese-majestie.' The objectors considered that it was superfluous, untimely and dangerous to subscribe the King's band. They protested their love and fidelity 'in all duetifull obedience' to the King, but they suspected sinister designs against the established Presbyterian polity. (v. 522-530.)

sumevir doctrein ather of instructioun admonitioun exhortatioun rebuik consolatioun or applying of the samyn to the wse of our flokkes and auditoris; seing this is ane of the speciall questionis proponit be your Majestie to be decydit in this nixt generall assemblie, we maist humelie crave of your Majestie that as we ar chairgit be your Majestie to send our commissioners to the nixt generall assemblie now approching *to resolve therupoun*,[1] that quhill than[2] we be nocht wrgit to do ony thing therin, seing your Majestie hes proponit this as a questioun *thair to be decydit*.[1]

3. Thirdlie, as to the ministeris of Edinburghe, your Majestie knowis that we have na jurisdictioun over thaim to juge or censure thaim *mair nor thay have off ws, bot thay ar*[1] in all thingis pertenyng thair ministerie subject to the censure and jugement of ther awin presbiterie provinciall assemblie and generall, as thay ar in all ther uther behaviour as subjectis to be tryitt and jugitt be your Majestie and your ordinar juges of the realme.

4. Also we being ignorant quhat the ministeris off Edinbruche doingis hes bein in this laitt tumulte off Edinburghe can na wayis juge of the samyn nor knowis nocht quhat hes movit thaim to depairte from thair flokes,[3] bott quhosoevir salbe found be just tryall to have bein authour of any insurrectioun aganis your Majestie quhider be he lord erle barone or burges or speciallie a minister, we grant and professe that deserves to be punischit as a traitour, and gif he be a minister as a dowble traitour, baith to his Majestie and to God in his ministerie. And our nocht disalowing of the particular is the ignorance of the proces and of the particular: beseiking therfoir his

[1] The words in italics are underlined in the original.

[2] quhill than=until then.

[3] Four Edinburgh ministers, Robert Bruce, Walter Balcanquell, James Balfour, and William Watson, were denounced rebels on 23 December for not compearing to answer for their part in the tumult of Edinburgh. The first two had sought refuge in England, the other two in Fife (*P.C.*, v. 353, 355 n.) They were relaxed from the horn on 22 April 1597. (Calderwood, v. 626.)

Majestie to appardone ws, and to have excuisit your Majesties servitour and commissioner Patrik Murray quha, wpoun our eirnest requeist and guid hope that your Majestie salbe satisfeit at the generall assemblie in all poyntis, hes continewit the chairges of hornyng onexecute,[1] quhilk favour also we luik for at your Majesties handes, as we salbe willing till plesour your Majestie in all thingis in God, to quhais eternall protectioun we commend your Majestie.

Mr. JHONE FORBES[2] Moderator in nam of the brethrein
GEORGE DOUGLAS Commissioner for Elgin[3]
J. DUNDASS minister[4]
WM. WALLACE[5] scribe
M. JAMES GUTHRE minister at Urquhard.

Original, holograph in hand of William Wallace, other signatures autograph, 1 p. Vol. A, 303.

CIV

Commission of the General Assembly anent the Earl of Huntly

4 March 1596-7.

The Assembly gave commission to the ministers of the presbyteries of Moray and Aberdeen to hold conference with Huntly, and as assessors appointed Messers Andrew Myln, Andrew Lamb, Andrew Leitch, George Gladstaines

[1] See above, No. C.

[2] John Forbes, minister at Alford. He afterwards suffered exile and hardships for the sake of his beliefs. (*Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, vi. 117.)

[3] The minister of Elgin was Alexander Douglas. (*Ibid.*, 388.) A George Douglas, his brother, was minister at Dallas. (*Ibid.*, vi. 413, 282; cf. *Records of Elgin*, i. 222.)

[4] Minister at Alves. (*Fasti*, vi. 374.)

[5] Probably William Wallace, reader, afterwards minister, at Peterculter. (*Ibid.*, 71.)

and John Ramsay; with order to report proceedings, namely :—

1. That during the time of his instruction he reside continuously in Aberdeen.
2. That he acknowledge the doctrines of the Protestant faith.
3. That he openly profess himself an obedient member of the established Kirk, receiving its sacraments and obeying its discipline.
4. That he solemnly promise by word and writ to banish all Jesuits, priests and excommunicate Papists from his company and territory.
5. That he subscribe the Confession of Faith in presence of all the commissioners.
6. That in the kirk of Aberdeen he make humble repentance for his apostasy,[1] and solemnly renew the above promises.
7. That at the same time he make public repentance for the murder of the Earl of Moray, and promise to give satisfaction for the same.
8. That he renounce all feud against those who have pursued him by force and otherwise in his Majesty's service.
9. That, as a proof of his sincerity, he provide ' sufficient stipendis for his kirkis.'
10. That he acknowledge the faults for which he was justly excommunicated, especially the burning of Donibristle and his apostasy.
11. That he maintain a minister permanently resident in his house.

Copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 308v.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 616; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 897. It is here extracted from the Acts of the seventh session of the General Assembly, under date 4 March 1596; given as 5 March in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk*.

[1] Huntly had ' subscribed to the church ' in the spring of 1588-9 at the persuasion of the King. (*C.S.P.*, x. no. 3.)

CV

Mr. John Forbes to [? Sir Patrick Murray]

[? After 4 March 1596-7.]

Pleis remember, Sir, to deale earnestly with his Majestie to writ with all diligence to my lord Huntly that he continew in conference with the best resolvit ministeris and heir publict doctrine for his perfyt resolution in particular and in conscience of all the heidis of the Confession of Fayth, and siklyk dispose him self to satisfie according to the sicht of the Kirk for all bygain offences, that the same may be in readiness to be offered to this nixt generall assembly and that the ministeris of this cuntray may haif warrand and assurance to say to the generall assembly that my lord Huntly is resolvit and ready in conscience to joyne with us in religion and to satisfie for bygain sclanderis offered be him as the assembly sall appoint that his receaving and reconciliation with the kirk may be concludit in the said generall assembly

Mr. Jhone Forbes Moderator in nam of the brethrein.

Original, autograph signature, unaddressed, ½ p. Vol. A, 318.

CVI

Huntly's Answers to the Articles

[*c.* 10 May 1597.][1]

A certification by the ministers of Angus, Mearns, Aberdeen and Moray, appointed commissioners by the General Assembly at Perth for the trial of Huntly's

[1] According to the *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, this ' certification ' was made in the sixth session of the General Assembly which met at Dundee on 10 May 1597, in the Little Kirk.

obedience to their ' particuler injunctiounis' : [1] that they have ' found him obedient and willing to satisfie in all humbill maner to continew and perseweir in his eirnist suit for reconcilatioun with the Kirk, and efter lang conferance and rype adwyisment to hawe consentit to the fulfilling of the saidis haill conditioneis.'

1. He obeyed. He duly compeared at Aberdeen on 22nd March to enter into conference with the commissioners, and satisfied them in matters of doctrine.

2. The commissioners brought him to an acknowledgement of the truth of the Protestant religion, as based upon ' the word of God.'

3. He acknowledges ' the reformit kirk of Scotland to be the trew kirk,' and professes his willingness to submit himself a sincere member of the same.

4. He is ready to subscribe the Confession of Faith in presence of all the commissioners, as soon as they return with power to grant him absolution.

5. He has declared to the commissioners that since the beginning of the conference he has held no manner of communication with Jesuit, priest, or excommunicate Papist not in conference with the Kirk. He will give his written word to banish from his society and territories all such of the above who have not licence from the Kirk; and will not allow them to be reset within his jurisdiction.

6. He is ready to make due satisfaction for his apostasy; and then to ratify all the foregoing.

7. He declares his sincere sorrow, and willingness to make amends for the slaughter of Moray.

8. He promises to crave pardon of God for this murder when, where or how it shall please the commissioners.

9. He promises to bear no grudge against any who have proceeded against him in the King's service.

10. He agrees to make provision for his kirks immediately after his absolution with the concurrence of specified ministers and friends.

11. He promises to maintain a minister in his own household.

12. He confesses that he merited his excommunication by reason of his public offences.

Mr. JHONE FORBES, Moderator
D. CONINGAM
P. BLAKBURNE
Mr. GEORGE GLAIDSTANIS
A. LAMB
M. ROBERT HOUYE
WILLIAM WALLACE scrybe
ALEXANDER DOWGLASS
WILLIAM DOUGLAS
WILLIAM DUNBAR
Mr. ANDROW MILN
Mr. ANDRO LEITHE

Original, with autograph signatures, $2\frac{3}{4}$ pp. Vol. B, 364.
The Answers are printed, without signatures, in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, 917-919.

[1] Cf. No. CIV. The Answers correspond to the respective points of the Articles.

CVII

Angus to Sir Patrick Murray

18 May 1597.

TO HIS SPECIALL GOOD FREIND AND COUSING PATRIK MURRAY GENTILMAN OF HIS MAJESTIES CHALMER.

Cousing, this present is only to requeist yow effectuislie that giff ye be derectit fra his Majestie commissionar to the erllis of Huntlie and Errollis tuiching his Majesties satisfactioun, that ye will insist with his Majestie to knaw his will and command towardis me,[1] for, God willing, his

[1] In March, the Countess of Angus, in her husband's name, petitioned the General Assembly at Perth ' to appoint certaine of the wisest brethren

Majestie sell find me willing to honour and obey his hienes in all that I can or may, and I wald his grace suld so esteme of me; and giff his Majestie hes fund ony ilest[1] or fault with me befor this tuiching my dewtie towardis his Majestie as my soveraine it selbe amendit be his awin advise and contentement.

Siclyk ye will remember to bring with yow my peace and relaxatioun frome horning that I may traweill in the cuntree to do my awin turnis as the rest receavis, and that I may have that honour to kiss his Majesties handis, the want quherof is boithe displaisure to me and disgrace; and the cuntray peradventure thinkis that I have offendit his Majestie so far by[2] my associatis that nether will his Majestie forgive nor I abill to amend. This, cousin, greiffis me verray muche, and thairfor agane I will desyr yow ernistlie to imploy your moyen heir anent, as ye will do me singular service.[3]

Gif ye pleiss to imploy your credit in effect, I hoyp that of clemencie his Majestie will not refuiss me this benefeitt. Thus remitting the rest to your wisdome and ansure, committis yow to the protectioun of the Eternall. Frome Barras[4] the xviij of Maij 1596

Your affectionat cousin

ANGUSS.

Original, autograph signature, slits along margin, 1 p. Vol. A, 311.

quher he maks his residence, to conferre and resolve him ' of his religious doubts. The Presbyteries of Angus and Mearns were commissioned to confer with him anent the same Articles as were prescribed for Huntly, saving the matter of Donibristle. The certification of his Answers was made to the Assembly at Dundee in May, along with those of Huntly and Errol. (*Booke of Universall Kirk*, 898, 921-922; Calderwood, v. 617-618, 636-637.)

[1] ilest=defect (see *New English Dictionary*, s.v. Eyelast).

[2] by=beyond.

[3] Corrections show that the construction of the sentence has been altered. The last word may be doubtful, but is apparently *service*, a word which certainly conveys the writer's meaning.

[4] Barras, in Kinneff parish, Kincardineshire. This was assigned as the place where Angus should ' awaite vpon the heiring of the doctrine.' (*Booke of Universall Kirk*, 921.)

CVIII

Memorial of certane heads and articles to be advysit and satisfiet,[1] anent the thrie afflictit Earlis, speciallie the Erle of Huntlie.

[*c.* 22 May 1597.]

1. That it wald pleas his Majestie to resave the thre Earles to his favor and peace: and to cause direct and publiss letters thairanent in sic ample and honorabil forme as his Majesty sal think expedient. Quhair it is to be advysit, quhither al the thrie salbe conjoinit in ane forme or sort of letters? or give three several formes and sortis salbe directit? and quhat salbe thair difference? And albeit the same be presentlie grantit and maid, it appeiris that the daitis thairof man be blank that bayth the delyverie and the executions may be posterior to the absolving frae the excommunicatione.

2. Item, for satling of trublis and pacifieng debaits in the northe, that it wald please his Majestie to direct ane ample commissioun to Mr. David Cuninghame bischop of Abirdene, Mr. Peiter Blakburne minister at Abirdene, Mr. Robert Howye maister of the newe college thair, Mr. Jhon Strauchin persone of Kincarne, Mr. Jhon Forbes, Mr. George Hay[2] ministers etc., Mr. David Rait principal, and Mr. Peiter Oudnie subprincipal of the auld college: or onie utheris ministers quhae sal seme meit for the propose, joining with thame Patrik Murraye for his Majesties pairt, for appointing and reconsiling the erle of Huntlie with my lord Forbes, the laird of Drum and yong Frindrat, betuix the Erle of Errol and Ludquharne, betuix Gicht and Bennone,[3] Clwnie and Corsindae, Balquhane and William

[1] The Assembly at Dundee, after receiving the ' Answers ' of the excommunicated Earls, instructed the Commissioners ' to proceid farther with the saids Erles in the said matter, and to receive a satisfactioun of sick things as are promised be them in the saids conditiouns.' (*Booke of Universall Kirk*, 922; Calderwood, v. 638.)

[2] Mr. George Hay, minister at Turriff.

[3] Benholme. See p. 329.

Stewart, [1] Balquhane and his brother Mr. William Leslie : [1] or onie utheris quhae sal presentlie be put in propose, or quhae salbe remembrit heireftir be the saids commissionars.

3. Item, that letters of assurance betuix al the saidis pairties and thair complices be directit be his Majestie.

4. [1] That letters of assurance be directit in special betuix the Erlis of Huntlie and Argyl with thair special freinds and assisters on baithe the pairtis in sick strait conditionis as his Majestie sal think expedient.[1]

5. Mairover, that his Majestie move my Leadie Huntlie to embrase the Religion with hir husband. And that the Erle of Huntlie associat with him self the baronis of the cuntrie with sum of the ministerie in al his wechtie effairis, and that his lordship reforme his house, removing thairfrae men of suspect religione, preserving him and his frae al sclander, sae far as is possible, and this other be counsal in missives or utherwyse as sal pleas his Majestie.

[*Endorsed*] Articles anent the erle of Huntley. Mr. Hercules Rollok.[2] 22 May 1597.

Probably a draft, 1 p. Vol. A, 305.

CIX

Memoriall to Patrik Murray servitor to his Majestie for the affairs of the northe.

[*c.* 22 May 1597.]

1. In primis to remember his Majeste to consider the commission grantit for absolution of these noble men and the propositions to be proponit to theme befoir thair

[1] Cancelled.

[2] In the absence of the Secretary, Mr. Hercules Rollok, advocate, looked after much of the secretarial work connected with the proceedings with the three Earls. See the incidental information given in his letter, dated 1 June, printed in Moysie, p. xxi. He is the 'Mr. Hercules Rollok, some tyme Maister of the Grammar Schoole of Edinburgh,' who wrote 'libells' against the four absent ministers of Edinburgh. (Calderwood, v. 553.)

absolution ; and the solemniteis therof, to the effect the samyn maye be conceawit in modest style and manir, less the rigour staye nocht the conclusion of the vork. [Doane].[1]

2. For the vork of reconsiliation betuix these noble in all feidis and eilastis witht thair nychtbouris his Majeste and estaitis vald gif commission to Patrick Murrye for his Majesteis part to conjoine witht M. David Conyngham bischop of Aberdeen Mris. Petir Blakburn Robert Howe, Mr. Jhon Strauchin parson of Kincarn Mr. Jhon Forbes Mr. George Haye, Mr. David Rait principall and Mr. Petir Udny subprincipall of the auld college for reconsiliacion of all feidis and eilasts in the haill province of Abirdin, and in speciall in the feid betuix the erle of Huntlie and the howse and name of Forbes, betuix Erroll and the laird of Ludquharn, betuixt Gycht and Erle Mershell, betuix Clunie and Corsindaye, and gif his Majeste thinkis expedient betuix Balquhane and his brother,[2] and betuix Villiam Stewart and the saidis laird and name of Leslie, [3] Drome and young Freyndraucht ; [3] and this commission to be extendit in ample manir and power.

3. That Patrick bring with him letters to charge all men in feid in that province to assuir, and in speciall the foirsaidis parteis.

4. That Patrick bring with him to Aberdeen the peices of vrittis followin.

1. The extract of ane act of assemblee subscryvit with thair clerk, quhair the procedings commission and report therof concerning the saidis erles ar allowit.
2. Ane commission for thair absolution
3. The heidis to be proponit befoir the action.

5. Item to remember the bischop of Abirdins twaye

[1] In margin. It seems to have been preceded by another word, which is now obliterated.

[2] It is stated on 1 June 1597 that 'Balquhane is wardit in the castel of Edinburgh, at the persuit of his brother Mr. William.' (Moysie, xxiv.)

[3] Added in margin.

varandis, the ane callit ane continuation; and gif it be obtenit to putt the same in the handis of Mr. Jhon Nicolson,[1] and quhen he cummis to Edinburgh to remember his Majeste to cause the president intimat the continouation in the utter howse of the Session.

6. Item to obtein his varrand dischargin the collectour and to send the same northe to the bischop with possible diligence.

Item to remember that his Majeste move my ladie Huntlie to embras the relligion with her husband.

Item that his Majeste move the said erle to be favorable to the vassals of the heritage of Strabogie,[2] and that his Majestie move the said erle to associat to himself the baronnis of the cuntre with some of the ministerie in all his grit affaris as lykvise to reforme his howse and remove men of suspectit relligioun.

D. Coningham
P. Blakburne
M. Robert Houye
Mr. Jhone Forbes
Maister Jamis Ross [3]
R. Burnet [4]

That my Lord Huntle satisfe capitan Gordoun his wyf.

That his Majeste deall for assurance betuix the erls of Hontlie and Argyll with thair complices.

That his Majeste receve my lord of Hontlie to his peax and the same be publist eftir his absolution.

Original, autograph signatures, 1⅓ pp. Vol. A, 299.

[1] Probably John Nicholson, notary public in Aberdeen, who is mentioned in *P.C.*, v.

[2] According to Mr. Hercules Rollok, 'His Lordschip is sumquhat miscontent with that article of the kirk, that stayes him frae making vantage of his vassals, and that astrictis him to freindschip with his nychtbouris, bot the King wil put fordward baythe thais pointis, for his L. awin weil.' (Moysie, xxiv.)

[3] James Ross, minister at Strachan, 1585-1599. (*Fasti*, vi. 111.)

[4] Robert Burnett, minister at Oyne.

CX

Instructionis gevin be his Majestie to Patrik Murray gentleman of his hienes chalmer to be done and performit be him in the north partis of this realme quhair his Majestie hes presentlie directed him for accomplischeing of the services underwritten.

[*c.* 22 May 1597.]

Inprimis, for samekle as the generall assemblie of this realme hes grantit commissioun to certane ministeris to absolve the erllis of Huntlie Angus and Erroll fra the sentence of excommunicatioun, the saidis erllis first fulfilland certane conditionis enjoynit to tham be the said assemblie, quhilkis conditionis being maist ressonable, tending alluterlie to the glorie of God and the avancement of the trew religioun, quhairby we of our princelie dewitie hes speciall entres to sie the same accomplisched, thairfoir ye in our name salbe present with the saidis commissioneris of the generall assemblie at the dayis and places appointit to the effect he [*sic*, read ye] may se and report agane to ws sufficient documentis anent the actuall fulfilling of the saidis conditionis in every heid and article therof, according as they ar sett downe in the said act of the generall assemblie.

Secundlie, ye sall present to every one of the saidis thre Erllis the copy of the generall band [1] and require thame in our name to subscrybe the same and to find sufficient cawtioneris for thair obedience to ws and for thair keiping of our peace and guid ordour in the cuntrey be thame selffis thair kin freindis servantis and tenentis etc., conforme to the said generall band in all pointis, ilk ane of the saidis erllis under the pain of tuentie thowsand pundis as divers utheris of our nobilitie of thair rank and utheris cheiffis of clannis hes done of befoir, for the quhilk effect ye sall ressave letters directit be ws and the lordis of our secreit

[1] The 'generall band' is referred to in *A.P.S.*, iv. 140, December 1597, but its tenor is not given.

counsale to charge the saidis erllis and every ane of thame to subscrybe the said generall band and to find sufficient cawtioun for observing therof, quhilk band and obligatioun sa subscryvit be thame and thair cawtioneris ye sall report agane to ws to be registrat in the buikis of our secreit counsale, and gif thair be ony dout that ony of the saidis cawtioneris is not responsable ye sall adverteis ws and our counsale therof that ye may knaw our advyce therin.

Thridlie, in respect of the sklander be my ladye Huntleis plane professioun of papistrie ye sall in our name baith requyre hir selff that scho will suffer hir selff to be instructit in the trew religioun and to cum to the oppin professioun therof, as also ye sall requyre my lord hir husband to deall with hir ernistlie heiranent that his lordshipis house may be clangit [1] of all sklanderous suspitioun of papistrie.

Fourtlie, forsamekle as be the following of evill counsall diverse troublis hes arrysin in that cuntrie quherin the said erll of Huntlie is in the place of ane shereff and magistrat under ws, quhairby he hes maist mister [2] of guid counsale for advancement of our service and keiping of gud ordour in the cuntrey, quhairfor ye sall schaw to the said erll that it is our will to appoint to him ane counsale of baronis of the best affected and maist zelous of religioun with sum godlie ministeris to be adjoynit with thame, quhous advyse the said erll sall subject him selff to follow in all wichtie effaires of the cuntrey and concerning our publict service according to the particular names of the saidis barons and ministeris quhairof we have gevin yow ane severall ticket subscryvit with our hand.

Fyftlie forsamekle as our service is gretumlie hinderit be the deidlie feadis amang our subjectis for reconceling quherof we sett downe ane generall ordour to be followit owt in all the partis of our realme, quhilk as yit hes tane na effect in the said north partis be reasoun of the troubles, albeit, praysit be God, with our great pains and travellis the said ordour hes producit ane ressonable quietnes in all the remanent partis of our realme, thairfoir ye in our name

[1] clangit=cleansed.

[2] mister=need.

as having our speciall power and commissioun to that effect sall ernistlie deall to tak up all the saidis feadis betuixt quhatsumevir our subjectis in the said north partis; in the quhilk commissioun we have associat with you Mr. David Cuningham bischop of Aberdene Mr. Peter Blakburne Mr. Robert Howie Mr. John Forbes Mr. John Strauchan Mr. George Hay ministeris, Mr. David Rait principall of the college Mr. Peter Oudny subprincipall, quhom we have commandit be thir presentis to assist you be thair travellis and mediatioun in the said guid work for appointing and reconceiling of the feadis betuixt my lord Huntlie and my lord Forbes, the laird of Drum and young Frendracht, and betuixt the erll of Erroll and the laird of Ludquhairne, betuixt the lairdis of Geicht and Benholme, betuixt the lairdis of Clunie and Cossinday and Cluny and Mocholl Frissell,[1] betuixt the laird of Buchane [2] and William Stewart and sic utheris feadis quherof ye sall ressave informatioun in the cuntrey. And for the better accomplischeing of the premissis ye sall ressave and caus execute letters direct be ws and the lordis of our secreit counsale to charge all the saidis personis to subscrybe assurances ane to uther in the commoun forme, the saidis assurances to indure and lest quhill the first day of Apryle nixt to cum.

Item, that the erll of Anguss befoir he be relaxit sall gif full contentment and satisfactioun for the sowmes of money contractit to be payit to my lord Duik of Lennox be the laird of Glenbervie for the wele and standing of the house and erldome of Anguss, and sall freith the laird of Glenbervie [3] of all bandis contractis and promeissis maid be him for the wele of the said house, withowt the quhilk my lord Duik is not able to ressave payment of the sowmes promittit be him.

[1] This name is omitted in the copy at fo. 304; but there is a marginal note: *the laird of Fraser and Clunie*. Mocholl Frissell is probably Fraser of Mulloche (Mullochquay).

[2] Laird of Balquhane. Cf. No. CVIII.

[3] Sir Robert Douglas. A piece of news sent to England on 20 December 1596 may refer to these financial dealings. The report was that 'Angus has bought his living from the Duke and it settled in the person of his son.' (*H.P.*, vi. 540. Cf. *infra*, p. 418, and *Spalding Club Miscellany*, ii. 94.)

Item, that the erll of Huntlie befoir he be relaxit sall caus his freindis quha ar obleissit be our decreit arbitrall to satisfie for ther escheatis and lyfferentis the sowme contenit in our decreit arbitrall every ane for thair awin part *pro recto*, or at the lest the said erll will tak upoun him selff the payment of the said sowme foirsaid betuixt this and the first of August nixt [to cum]

JAMES R.

The lard of Finlater
The lard of Innes
The lard of Phillorth
The tutour of Cromartie
The lard of Pitlurg
The lard of Cluny or any thre of thame.
The Bishop of Abirdene
Mr. Peter Blackburne
Mr. Johnne Forbes
Mr. Robert Howie
The persoun of Turray
Mr. Alexander Dowglas or any thre of thame.

JAMES R.

Copy, 3 pp., Vol. A, 313; another copy of the first five heads, Vol. A, 304.

CXI

Patrik Murrayis instructiounis to the northland

24 Maij 1597.

Memoriall anent Patrik Murray his instructiounis and anent the wtheris charges letters and missiwes mentionat thairin and quhilk man be writtin out be Jhon Andro William Wyllie and David Moyse [1] upon the informatioun conteinit in the saydis instructiounis respective

Inprimis his Majesties adwyis wald be socht gif the saydis

[1] David Moyse is the writer of the *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*. He was an Edinburgh Writer; admitted as a notary on 13 March 1576-7. (*Memoirs*, xiii-xiv; *Books of Sederunt*, iii. fo. 38.) For references to John Andro and William Wyllie, see Moysie, *Memoirs*, xx-xxiv.

erlis salbe urgit to subscrywe ony straiter securitie than the generall band sik as that thay sall nocht traffik with strangearis, that thay sall nocht receit ony papistis, that thay sall compeir personallie befoir his Majestie and secreit counsall quhen thay sall be chairgit for contraventioun of the sayd generall band, and sa mony of the saydis claussis as his Majestie pleisis to urge thaim with man be insert in the tennour of the generall band to the effect thay may be astrictit to the observing therof wnder that same paines quhilk is conteinit in the generall band.

To remember that William Wyllie man writ out the letters upon the sayd generall band and eik the saydis extraordinair claussis quhilk his Majestie sall pleis to appoynt to the saydis erlis.

Item anent the fourt instructioun, that his Majestie be remembrit to giwe the names of the barronis and ministeris in ticket quhom his Majestie will appoynt to be the erle of Huntlyis counsellouris.

Anent the fyift instructioun, Jhon Andro man writ out the letters to charge the pairties to subscrywe assurances, and siclyik David Moyse man writ out the missiwe billis to the ministeris to concur with the kingis commissioner for the uptaking of the saydis feadis. The tennour of the sayd fyift instructioun will serve for sufficient informatioun to the sayd Jhon Andro and David Moyse for writting out of the saydis chairgis and missives respective.

Item, I hawe sene na act of the generall assemblie anent the Erlis of Angus and Erroll.

Item anent the letters of protectioun, the same man be writtin out be Jhon Andro and man be foundit upon the narratiwe of the saydis erlis obedience and reconciliatioun with the kirk and absolutioun fra the sentence of excommunicatioun and also upon the finding of cautioun for keiping of his Majesties peace and guid ordour in the countrie according to the generall band; for the quhilk caus his Majestie, willing in lyik maner to extend his hienes clemencie to the saydis Erlis, hes with awyis of the lordis of his hienes secreit counsall ordainit that the saidis Erlis sall be relaxit fra the proces of horning and recewit to his

Majesties peace and this thair relaxatioun to be publissit and proclaimit at the mercat croces of Edinburgh Aberdein and utheris placis neidfull. This relaxatioun may be amplifeit with ane claus of his Majesties speciall protectioun and maintenance of the saydis Erlis in tyme cumming, quhilk alwayis is superfluous, for the simple relaxatioun fra the horne will be sufficient quhill his Majestie grant thaim remissiounis and reduce thair foirfaltouris.

Copy, ¾ p. Vol. A, 317.

CXII

Act of the commissionaris anent the declaratioun of the Earl Huntleis admission

At Aberdeine the xxvi of June 1597.

The quhilk day the commissionaris of the generall assemblie appoynted for the reconciliatioun of the erles of Huntle and Errol,[1] beand satisfied with thair repentance and satisfactioun of the haill pointes enjoyned be the said assemblie, ordanis Mris. David Cunigame Peter Blakburne and George Gladstanis to passe to the kingis majestie and commissionaris of the generall assemble to notifie and declare the obedience and absolutioun of the said noble men, that be thair auctoritie the sam may be intimat in all the kirkis of this countrey in speciall in burrostounes and be his Majesties ministeris that thai may [be] used herefter as christianes obedient to God and thair soverane.[2]

Mr. GEORGE GLAIDSTANIS scrybe to the said conventioun.

Copy, roughly made, ½ p. Vol. A, 310.

[1] An eyewitness's account of the 'Ceremonial of the receaving the Earls of Huntly and Errol to his Majesty's peace at Aberdene' is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i., No. LXXXVIII. It is a circumstantial and graphic 'narratioun.'

Angus was received back to the Kirk by the ministers of Mearns and Angus. (Spottiswoode, iii. 62.)

[2] 'In the beginning of August the Erles of Angus, Huntlie, and Erroll, were relaxed from the horne, by sound of trumpet, at the Croce of Edinburgh, and proclamed the king's free lieges.' (Calderwood, v. 655; cf. *P.C.*, v. lxvii-lxviii.) Their forfeitures were reduced by Parliament in December. (*A.P.S.*, iv. 123-130, 150.)

CXIII

Huntly to Sir Patrick Murray

11 July 1597.

TO OUR RYCHT TRAIST FREIND PATRIK MURRAY GENTILL MAN OF HIS MAJESTYIS CHALMER.

Rycht traist freind eftir our hartlie commendatioun, haifing receavit ane charge to put our uncle[1] out of the cuntryth as in the samyn at mair lenth is contenit, in the quhilk thair inlaikis ane clause, to wit gevan libertie to all maisteris of schippis to receave our uncle and transport him to quhatsumevir port he sall think maist expedientt without perrell of law, for albeit that perchance the letters that is cum alredy may serve, yit the scrupolositie of the ignorant seymen will stur to receave ane Jesuit in thair schippis without ane large privilege that thay be nocht damnifeit therbe heirefter. Therfor will desyir yow to get ane charge to all skipperis and maisteris of schippis to receave our said uncle and to transport to quhat part he sall think maist expedientt beyond sey, dispensand with

[1] Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit. Spottiswoode states that during the negotiations for the reconciliation of Huntly, Father Gordon 'came into the country of intention to divert him from giving obedience; against whom a strict proclamation was made.' At the same time a plot was discovered to fortify Ailsa Craig as a centre for Spanish troops. The failure of this enterprise made 'the popish lords . . . more willing to fulfil that which they had promised.' (iii. 61-62; *P.C.*, v. 396.) The papal agent at Brussels considered Father Gordon a suitable agent to work for his Church in Scotland, 'inasmuch as he is loved and esteemed by the good as a man of great learning and most exemplary life, and is no less respected by people of a different kind, as being uncle to the Earl of Huntly.' (Bellesheim, *Catholic Church of Scotland*, iii. 467—transl. D. O. Hunter Blair.) James, on the other hand, declared through the Privy Council that 'the said Maister James intentioun and course' was 'maist pernitious, tending to the inquieting of his Heynes estate and cuntrey, steiring up of factionis and seditioun betuix his Majestie and his subjectis, and meriting thairfoir a reale and seveir punishement, to the terrour of the lyke inquiet and restles spiritis.' (*P.C.*, v. 396.)

all proclamatiounes and actis mad in the contrair, and haist the berar abak to me agane with the said commissioun that be the sycht of the kirk heir I sall nocht faill to do my dewtie for the executioun of the said commissioun and charge, remitting forder to your answer and diligence, committis yow to the protection of God. From Boggeycht [1] the xi of July 1597 yeiris be

I have directit this berar that be him I may receave from you sic neuis as occurris for the tym. I dout not bot ye will remember on all the pointis of your memoriall, and gif my gudbrother the Duk be to cum north I luik ye will forvarn me sum spaice befor. Remember to send me the twa taime follou deir that ye promesit, for all my gretest cair nou is to mak perkis and stankis and to be ane pecabill man. I pray yow forzet not to recommend my humbill servis to hir Majeste and schau hir that I lang to have that honour ainis to kis hir hand

Youris as ye knau

HUNTLYE.

Holograph, slits along margin, 1 p. Vol. A, 320.

CXIV

Instructionis to Patrik Murray, commissionar for his Majestie to the towne of Sanctandrois.

[1597].

In primis, forsamekill as we ar informed that Mr. Patrik Arthur [2] Mr. Hew Lyndsay and utheris thair complices persewaris of the blud of umquhill James Arthur [3] and contraventionis depending thairupone haif not gewin sufficient obedience to our commissionaris directed for uptakinge of all the feidis within our said citie, thairfoir

[1] Bog of Gicht.

[2] Mr. Patrick Arthur was afterwards excommunicated for the murder of James Smith. See references in *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session.*

[3] James Arthur was mortally wounded in a tumult in St. Andrews in 1589. See Melvill's *Diary*, p. 183; *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*, ii. 819 n.

that ye declaire unto thame it is our expresse will that all actionis criminall or ciwill depending wpone the said blud be submittit at the sicht of Mris. Robert Wilkie [1] James Nicolsoune Thomas Bucquhanan and George Gladstanis our commissionaris [2] foirsaidis or ony twa of them with certificatioune, gif thai disobey, upon the testimoniall of thair refusall returned be our saidis commissionaris we weill punische thame with all rigour as brekaris of our commone peace.

Secoundlie forsamekill as we ar suirlie informed that Mr. Robert Zuil [3] readar of our said citie haweand no charge of the ministrie ceases not to utter publict speichis sclaunderous to ws and our preceidingis in reformeing the misorderis of our said citie and importing seditioune thairin quhilk we in our awin persone hes with greit panes traweled to quenche, heirfoir that ye command the minister and sessioune of our said citie to try the saidis seditious speiches utterid be him and report to ws thair diligence thairanent with all convenient expeditioune that he may be also punischit be ws accordinglie.

Thridlie, because in lait visitatioune of our universitie [4]

[1] Robert Wilkie was appointed minister of St. Leonard's in 1591, and was also Principal of the College. (*Fasti*, v. 243.)

[2] Fourteen Commissioners of the Kirk were appointed by the General Assembly at Dundee in May 1597 to treat of 'sindrie maters of weight and importance . . . which did in speciall tuich the whole estat and bodie of the kirk,' and 'the interteanement of peace and obedience to his Majestie within this realme.' (Calderwood, v. 645-646; Spottiswoode, iii. 60.) In this way James sought to undermine Presbyterian parity, and to defeat ecclesiastical claims of immunity from secular control. The first attack was made against the Presbytery of St. Andrews (Calderwood, v. 647), and the present Commission was part of the campaign. Of the four Commissioners here named for St. Andrews affairs, all but Wilkie were also members of the General Commission.

[3] Robert Yuill, reader of St. Andrews, was declared 'sufficient' by the Presbytery in 1593. (*Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, v. 241.)

[4] The ecclesiastical Commission instituted 'a strict and searching visitation of the university of St. Andrews, the stronghold of its rector, Mr. Andrew Melvil, who in his office of Principal had, as the king conceived, been too busy in disseminating amongst the students his favourite principles of ministerial parity and popular power.' (Tytler, ix. 236.) See also Calderwood, v. 650-651; James Melvill's *Diary*, p. 275.

thair we be adwyise of our commissionaris appointit to that effect eximed and dischairget all the memberis of the said universitie fra resorting to presbitries or sessionis ecclesiastik except sic as war actuall ministeris, and yit upone pretence of obscuritie of that act and chairges gewin thairupone the studentis of theologie and philosophie repairis to the said ecclesiastik judicatoris and presbitries allegeand thame selfis not to be inhibited thairfra, heirfoir it is our will ye declair to the rector the deane of facultie and magistratis of our said citie that thai inhibed the saidis studentis fra ony forder repairing to the saidis sessionis and prisbitries seing that our said act menis the discharg of all and sindrie personis fra the said prisbiterie except actuall ministeris allanerlie.

Ferdlie, that ye dischairge personis notet of befoir as auchtoris of seditioune within our said citie that thai decist fra keping conventikiellis and secreit meetingis for mentenance of factionis, and in speciall maister William Wolwoide,[1] as he will answer wpone his uttermaist perrell and cleare him self of credibill informationis aganis him laitlie cum to our knawlege.

JAMES R.

Original, autograph signature, 1 p. Vol. A, 350.

CXV

Declaration du Roy touchant la Ligue avec la France

1597.

Jacques par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Escosse, a tous ceux qui ces presentes veront, salut :

Proclaiming that, with a desire to maintain and corroborate the ancient league and confederation contracted and inviolably preserved since the year 805 by our predecessors, Kings of Scotland, and the Kings of France, we have caused our leal and loved counsellors, John Lindesay, lord of Balcarres, our Secretary, and John Skene, Clerk of Register,[1] to collect from our registers and the histories of both nations, and to put in concise form (*en forme de traitte particulier*) all the alliances contracted, and helps, privileges and immunities mutually given in virtue of the said league. Which summary and collection we have seen and have verified in our privy council (*nostre senat et conseil prive*) in form and tenor following.

When the Saxons, afterwards called English, were seizing Great Britain from the British and began to molest France both by sea and land, Charlemagne, then King of France and Emperor, found himself hindered thereby in his war against the Saracens. To divert the said English from France he sent his ambassadors to Achaius, King of Scotland, to contract a league and alliance between the French and Scots against the English. This proposal was made by the said ambassadors in the King's Council, and after mature deliberation with the lords there present it was decided to accept the said alliance, and to make a perpetual league between the realms of France and Scotland, under the conditions and articles hereafter following : according whereunto they are set down in the registers and histories of both nations under the year of grace 791, being the twenty-third of the reign of Charlemagne, and the third of the reign of Achaius.[2]

[1] Mr. William Welwood, Professor of Laws. He had been the original object of attack in the tumult in which James Arthur was slain. (Melvill's *Diary*, 182-183.) He had a deep-rooted feud against William Lermonth, bailie of St. Andrews. See references in *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*, ii. (ed. D. Hay Fleming for Scot. Hist. Society).

[1] John Skene of Curriehill, Clerk-Register, was at this time 'engaged on his great work of compiling the Scottish Statutes' (*P.C.*, v. xliv-xlv). He and the Secretary were both members of the Octavian administration of eight commissioners of Exchequer (January 1596-7 to January 1597-8).

[2] See 'Brief Discours de la Ligue entre la France et l'Escosse,' p. 94, in David Chambers (or Chambre), *Histoire abbregee de tous les roys de France, Angleterre et Escosse* (Paris, 1579). He quotes largely from French sources in tracing the history of the auld alliance. See, also, Habbakuk Bisset's *Rolment of Courtis*, i, 34-36. (Edited by Sir P. J. Hamilton-Grierson for Scottish Text Society, 1920.) Bisset collaborated with Skene in drawing up his legal compilations (*ibid.* 74), and may have known of this 'Declaration.' See, also, *L'Escosse françoise, Discours des alliances . . . entre les couronnes de France et d'Escosse* (Paris, 1608).

First, perpetual amity and confederation concluded and agreed between France and Scotland.

Item, injury or force inflicted by the English upon either the French or the Scots shall be common, and resisted by both.

Item, if the French be persecuted in war by the English, the King of Scotland shall furnish them with soldiers at the expense of the King of France.

Item, if the Scots be provoked by the English, they shall be aided and succoured by the French at the cost and expense of the French.

Item, if any of the subjects of the two confederates give support, privately or publicly, in arms, or counsel, or provisions, to the English against either of these two confederates, he shall when fugitive be held guilty of the crime of lese majesty to both parties.

Item, it shall not be lawful for either to make peace or truce with the English without the consent of the other.

After the conclusion and ratification of these articles Achaius not only made war upon the English, but with the French ambassadors sent his brother William (called *the Scot* in the Annals of France) with four thousand men to assist Charlemagne against the Saracens, the Saxons and his other enemies. According to Boece he also sent at the request of the ambassadors four learned men, namely, Clement, John, Raban and Alcuin. According to other writers he sent three scholars, namely, Clement, John Albin or Alcuin (which simply means John the Scot), and Raban. Clement and John Albin, at the prayer of Charlemagne, remained in France. Clement was employed to found the University of Paris, and John that of Padua in Italy. But William, brother of Achaius, besides reducing the city of Florence to the obedience of Charlemagne, or at least (according to other writers) restoring it after it had been sacked, also did him good service in quelling the Saxons in Germany : as Paul Emile in his *History of France* aptly remarks in describing the life of Charlemagne. He says that, on conquering the Saxons, Charlemagne, in order that their name might be gradually extinguished, conferred

the magistracy (*bailla les honneurs de magistrats*) upon foreigners, chiefly Scots, because of the great fidelity with which they had served him. To perpetuate the memory of this alliance Achaius bordered his arms with a double tressure of fleur de lis (*fist mettre alentour de ses armoires les fleurs de lys en double trait*). From that time onwards the two nations have always maintained the said alliance by mutual help when need arose. That is why Louis Debonnaire King of France by his ambassadors prevented Edwyn King of Northumberland from succouring Brude, King of the Picts, against Alpin, King of Scotland, his confederate.

Although during several reigns the alliance was not so closely kept as later when the Kings of France had continual wars against England, nevertheless it was never broken, and was, indeed, several times renewed, as about 1166 by Louis VII., called the Young, King of France, and William King of Scotland. In virtue of the renewal of this league, William, at the solicitation of Louis, assisted Henry, eldest son of Henry II., King of England, against his father,[1] notwithstanding that the said William had married Ermengarde, daughter of the Earl of Beaumont, near kinswoman of the King of England. He likewise sent his brother David with a good number of men-at-arms to accompany Philip I.,[2] King of France, to the Holy Land.

Some time afterwards Alexander II., King of Scotland, having taken part in the coronation of Louis VIII., eldest son of Philip, King of France, chosen King of England by the English nobility, renewed the ancient league at Boulogne with the said Philip in 1216, adding this new condition : that it should not be lawful for either of them to receive the banished subjects or the enemies of the other, or to bring in strangers without mutual consent. And if the King of England make war on one of them, the other shall assist him by attacking England on his side.

[1] In 1174. He was taken prisoner at Alnwick on 13 July. See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 78, and authorities there cited.

[2] *rectius* Philip II., Philip Augustus.

Similarly Alexander III., King of Scotland, having been asked for support by Louis IX., called St. Louis, King of France, sent to him on his first journey to the Holy Land Patrick Dunbar Earl of March, David Lyndesay Lord of Glennestre [1] and Walter Steuart of Dundonald well accompanied by soldiers; and on his last crusade sent the Earls of Carrick and Athole and Alan Stuart, son of the above Walter, with a thousand men.

The same league was also renewed in the year 1294, when Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol, then King of Scotland, took in marriage the daughter of Charles Count of Valois, and brother of Philip the Fair. The Scots made several inroads into England until the taking of King John Baliol by Edward King of England. From that time one could scarcely discern the enterprises requiring mutual help between France and Scotland until 1326,[2] when the league was again renewed and confirmed by the Kings, Charles the Fair of France and Robert du Bruce of Scotland, with this amplification of the last article, above mentioned: that if either of the parties make peace or truce with the English, in the event of war arising between the other party and the English, the said peace or truce shall be null (*si l'un des deux Roys ou royaumes accorde la paix ou la tresve avec l'Anglois sans comprendre l'autre, on cas que la guerre sourd entre celuy qui est hors prins et l'Anglois ladite paix ou tresve sera nulle*).

This alliance was so much regarded by David Bruce, King of Scotland, son of the said Robert, that although he had married the sister of Edward III., King of England, he nevertheless accompanied Philip de Valois, King of France, during the wars between the said Philip and Edward, and sent William Douglas out of France with some support to continue the war against the English.

[1] This was Sir David de Lindsay, ancestor of the Earls of Crawford, who went on crusade and died in Egypt. (*S.P.*, iii. 8.) Glennestre is probably a misreading for Gleneske.

[2] This sentence seems ambiguous. The text reads: '*de la en avant on ne scauroit guerres s'appercevoir des entrefaits requerants secours entre la France et l'Escosse jusques au l'an* 1326.'

After his own return to Scotland [1] he, in order to divert the English from Calais, twice pillaged England, and the third time was captured, and several of his nobles slain, in battle near Durham,[2] after having refused great offers from Edward, King of England, his brother-in-law, to give up the alliance with the King of France. That is why the French historian, Paul Emile, testifies to the constant goodwill between the Scottish and French allies. And the English historiographer, Polidore Virgil, speaking of this King David, says that the Scots are like an arrow, ever ready to be drawn against the English at the will of the King of France.

About this same time John, King of France, shortly before his capture at Poictiers, sent Hue Garantier to Scotland with sixty men well experienced in war, and 40,000 crowns to pay Scots in order to cause the English to retire from France. These, assisted by the Earl of March and William Douglas, wrought so much harm in England that Edward III. was constrained to return.

Then this league was more closely contracted and confirmed by Kings Charles V. of France and Robert II. of Scotland in 1371, with a more ample declaration of the first articles, adding thereto others of the following tenor, comprised in letters of the said King Charles, which are still wholly extant in our registers.[3]

Firstly, the Kings and realms of France and Scotland are bound as loyal allies henceforth to give and procure support and counsel, the one to the other, so far as in them lies. And because the Kings of England have often oppressed and vexed the foresaid realms, they bind themselves to support each other reciprocally, according to their ability, against the English.

[1] In 1341.

[2] Battle of Neville's Cross, or Durham, October 1346.

[3] See *Scotichronicon*, lib. xiv. cap. xliv-xlv; *A.P.S.*, i. 195. The *Book of Pluscarden* gives the year as 1381. The original letters under the Great Seal of France upon the treaty between Charles V. and Robert II., dated 30 June 1371, are preserved in H.M. General Register House. (*Treaties with France*, no. 2.)

Item, if war be moved between the Kings of France and England, as soon as the King of Scotland be advertised thereof by sufficient writing, or sure information or common report, he shall be bound to make war with all his might against the King of England. The King of France shall be bound to support the King of Scotland similarly in like case.

Item, the said confederate Kings shall in no wise suffer any of their subjects to afford aid, counsel or favour to the King of England, his allies or supporters, or to take service in any way whatsoever with him or any other enemy, adversary or rebel of either of them. And if, after general prohibition of the above any one be found to have done or to do in the contrary, he shall be taken and punished without mercy as a traitor and rebel against his prince and country.

Item, the adversaries and notorious rebels of either of the two confederates shall nowise be received or reset, openly or secretly, in the realm or lordships of the other, after warning given; but the confederates shall protect and procure the honour, rights and privileges, the one of the other; each shall do his power to win his friends, allies and adherents to the service of the other, and to prevent anything to his hurt and prejudice.

Item, that the one shall not make truce with the King of England without consent of the other and his inclusion, unless he does not wish to be comprehended therein.

Item, that the one shall not make peace with the King of England without express consent of the other, or that the other be comprehended entirely.

Item, should the race of either king fail, so that there be doubt as to the succession to the crown, then the lawful heir shall be determined by the chief nobles who shall declare who ought to reign, according to the laws, rights and statutes of the realm in question; and he whom the greater and better part (*la plus grande et plus saine partie*) shall have approved as king, shall also be held by the other as king, ally and confederate. And if any adversaries should, with the might of the King of England, make war

against the king thus chosen, the other shall with all his power support and defend him against the said adversaries and their abettors, according to the form of the alliance abovesaid.

In order that these articles may be the better observed, the two kings and their successors shall never be absolved from this oath, and if peradventure they be, the absolution shall be null and of none effect.

Hector Boece, Book 14, writes that this last article anent the heir was added in the time of Robert I., King of Scotland. But it is not found in the letters confirmatory of this alliance between Kings Charles the Fair of France and Robert I. of Scotland,[1] but in those of Charles V. and Robert II. This shows that it was added only in the time of this Robert II. The league, then, being thus renewed and ratified, the said Charles V., besides granting to the above King Robert II. 100,000 nobles of gold to pay off the ransom due to the English for his father [*sic*] David King of Scotland, also sent help in men and munitions of war against the English, as he was bound to do by his letters of 1371.

The same alliance, thus renewed, was afterwards confirmed in the same terms by Charles VI. King of France and Robert III. King of Scotland, in 1391; by virtue of which confirmation the King and realm of Scotland were comprehended in the truce made in 1398 for twenty-eight years between Kings Charles VI. of France and Richard II. of England. Towards the expiry of the same, in 1421, the abovesaid Charles VI. sent the Count of Vendôme as ambassador to Robert Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife, then Regent [2] after the death of Robert III., to beg for his support in accordance with the ancient league abovesaid. He sent John Earl of Buchan (Bucquhane), his eldest son, Robert, his younger son, and Archibald Douglas Earl of Wigton with Alexander Lyndesay, brother of the Earl of

[1] The alliance between France and Scotland was renewed in 1323. (*Book of Pluscarden*, book IX. chap. xxi.)

[2] Robert Duke of Albany died in September 1420. The chronology here is inaccurate.

Crafurd and Thomas Suintoun, knights, with 7000 Scots soldiers. But on their arrival, as King Charles, by means of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, had come to terms with Henry V. King of England, declaring him Regent of France,[1] they supported his son Charles VII., Dauphin of France, who, on coming to the crown [*sic*] in 1406[2] had renewed the ancient league with the above Governor Robert, comprising therein his uncles Louis Duke of Anjou, adopted King of Sicily, Louis Duke of Orleans, and John Duke of Berry. They all at that time confirmed the said league, swore to observe it, and to this effect gave letters upon their oath, still preserved in our registers. Wherefore the said Charles VII. in 1423 sent an ambassador to Duke Murdoch (Mordau), then Regent of Scotland, begging him to send back John Earl of Bucquhane, and the Earl of Wigtoun with more soldiers to reinforce the remnant of their old company left in France. Duke Murdoch sent the Earl of Bucquhane with Archibald Earl of Douglas, and James his son, and a good number of soldiers, and the following year despatched more under Robert Pittilot.[3]

We also find in our registers letters of the said King Charles VII. of 1428, wherein he ratified the league with James I. King of Scotland, and begged him to send further aid against the English. This he not only did, but also gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to Louis XI., then Dauphin of France,[4] having refused the ambassadors of Henry VI., King of England, offering to cede Northumberland to Recroce and the town of Berwick if he would break the league with the French. In recompense for

[1] Treaty of Troyes (1420), by which Henry V. was recognised as Regent and successor of Charles VI.

[2] The Franco-Scottish league was renewed at Paris in February 1406-7. (*Exchequer Rolls*, IV. xlix.) There may be some confusion here between the events ascribed to the years 1406 and 1421.

[3] He was one of the distinguished Scots captains in the French wars of his time. 'By his prudent conduct and valour Robert Patillok had regained from the English one of the richest parts in France; so that as long as he lived he was called by the inhabitants the Little King of Gascony.' (W. Forbes-Leith, *The Scots Guards in France*, i. 63.)

[4] *A.P.S.*, ii. 26-27.

these benefits and for the expenses incurred on his account against the English, King Charles in 1428 granted the county of Xainctonge and Rochefort to the said James and his heirs male in the direct line.

James II., son of James I., in 1449 renewed the said confederation with the said Charles, with an addition to the articles anent the truces: namely, that from thenceforward the prince who makes the truce shall comprehend therein his brother and ally, should he wish so to be comprehended, and shall give him notice of the contracting of the truce within nine months. And if the said ally declare his wish to be comprehended, and if, after such declaration, the King of England be unwilling to include him in the truce, then the said prince who was the contracting party shall notify the King of England that his ally wishes to be comprehended and exhort him to cause keep and observe the truce in respect to his said ally. And if the said King of England, thus required, should prove unwilling to comply, the contracting prince shall comport himself towards him in the form and manner specified in the alliances and confederations. And in the case where the allied prince shall declare that he does not wish to be comprehended, then the one prince shall remain in truce and the other in war; and, this notwithstanding, they shall act towards each other as becomes good friends and allies, according to the tenor of the above alliances. After making this declaration, James II. at the request of the said Charles entered England with a great army and was killed by the chance bursting of one of his cannons, which he was watching too closely while besieging Roxburgh Castle.

After his death his son, James III., and Louis XI. renewed the ancient league in 1461; and this was done again in 1484 in the same terms by the said James and Charles VIII., son of the above Louis. And, indeed, so great was the brotherly love between these two kings that Polydore in his *History of England* (chapter 24) writes that James refused to give his daughter Cecilia [*sic*] in marriage to Edward IV., King of England, because Louis XI. hated

him and had refused to give him one of his daughters in marriage. Hence he asserts that these two were always of one mind. Finally, he calls this King of Scotland a sure and perpetual ally of the French. That is why modern historiographers also write that Charles VIII., King of France, was accompanied on his expedition to Naples by several Scottish lords, to wit, John Stuart Duke of Albany, Eberard Stuart Count of Aubigny and Bernard Stuart, their lieutenant, with a good number of Scots soldiers.[1]

Then, James IV. King of Scotland, succeeding to his father, was heir likewise to his friendship with France; for, although he had married the sister of Henry VIII. King of England, he nevertheless confirmed the league with Charles VIII. in 1491, and at the request of Louis XII., who succeeded Charles and renewed the league in 1512, he made war upon the said Henry, his brother-in-law, and was killed in the Battle of Flodden in 1513. Jean Tillet, the French historian, has remarked that this James IV. gave aid to Louis XII. alike in the Italian expeditions under the charge of the said Lord d'Aubigny and John Stuart Duke of Albany, and in all other wars against his enemies.

The said Duke of Albany, after the death of King James IV., being chosen Regent during the minority of James V., in the king's name renewed the federation in 1517 with Charles Duke of Alençon, commissioner of Francis I. King of France,[2] with the addition of certain specific articles anent their mutual help against the English: namely, that for the first and second time that the King of England, his heirs and successors should move war upon the said Kings of France and Scotland or upon one of them, the said King of France shall be bound to assist the said King of Scotland his heirs and successors with 100,000 crowns of the sun, 1500 landsknechts, 500 footmen and 200 archers from the military establishment (*deux cens archiers des ordinances dudict Roy de France*) of the said

[1] See Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, i. 286 ff.

[2] This treaty is calendared in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. part ii. no. 3635.

King of France, paid until they arrive at Scottish ports. From the time of their arrival the landsknechts and advance guard (*avant-coureurs*) shall be paid by the King of Scotland, his heirs and successors, and the archers shall continue to be paid by the King of France. And moreover if the King of England make war upon the King of France, the Scots King after due warning shall make war upon the said King of England, his realm and subjects to the utmost of his power with the said aid sent by the King of France. And if the King of England lead war upon the King of Scotland the said King of France shall be bound, immediately upon due warning, over and above the aid beforementioned, to make war with all his might by way of diversion upon the overseas possessions and subjects of the King of England. And if it happen that for a third time or more the King of England make war upon one of the two confederates, the other shall be bound to make war upon him on his side. And should the King of France conquer or in any other way obtain possession of the territory held by the King of England overseas, nevertheless he shall not desist from war, but the whole strength of his army shall cross over to the invasion of England, where the King of France shall carry on hostilities until the war made by the English on the King of Scotland shall be terminated by a treaty made with the consent of both the confederates, or otherwise. Further, as often as the King of England shall wish to make war on the King of France, the King of Scotland (if required so to do) shall be bound to send, at the expense of the King of France, 6000 good men of war.

These articles were confirmed and ratified in 1522 by the said Kings Francis I. and James V., and in the spirit of this alliance James V. betook himself to France about 1537 and took in marriage Madeleine, eldest daughter of the above King Francis. And although she died in the same year, this notwithstanding, at the request of Francis I. he made war on Henry VIII. King of England, and having lost the battle of Solway Moss (Soluamos) he soon afterwards died of grief. After his death Francis I. in 1543

sent his ambassadors to Scotland, and James Hamilton Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland, and the three Estates, in the name of Mary Queen of Scotland, then a minor, confirmed and ratified all the ancient confederations and leagues, including that of the year 1517 contracted by the above Alençon and Albany, except (*si non*) in respect to the financial subsidies or other promises of mutual aid upon conditions then specified. In consideration of the above the said King Francis sent an army to Scotland under M. de Lorges in 1545 in order to constrain the English to peace: and in 1547 Henry II., King of France, sent another army under M. d'Essé, and another in 1549 under the Sieur de Termes, to compel Edward VI. King of England to render to him the town of Boulogne; which he did soon after, when peace was made between the said Henry and Edward, with the comprehension of Scotland as ally and confederate; and by a special provision the castles of Dunglass and Lauder were delivered to the Scots in that same year, 1549. Finally, it is easy to see how great was the love of the Scots towards the French and their willingness to maintain the league and alliance when, in spite of the English, they gave in marriage the most illustrious princess Mary, daughter of James V. and sole heiress of the crown of Scotland, to Francis II., Dauphin of France, wishing rather to incorporate themselves with their ancient friends and confederates than to become subject to their perpetual enemies.

Now, these two realms, having so often reaped the fruits of this confederation by the mutual help which they have afforded each other against the English, are persuaded that it is necessary to support the league with all the marks of a true union and to do away with all obstacles. They consider that the amity might be impaired in three ways: to wit, by the discontinuance of arms, by the cessation of trade, and by the badge of a stranger (*marques d'etranger*). They have provided a threefold and very necessary remedy for the preservation of perpetual union.

First, by the establishment of the Scots bodyguard of the King of France, and the company of a hundred men-

at-arms, as a bond of their faithful friendship and a token of their common faith and combined force. For about the year 1260 St. Louis, King of France, being warned of certain great plots of some traitors (called assassins or *vieillars*) sent from Austria by one, Apollodemus, a pagan (*par un Apollodemus payen*) to murder him, and of several others who wished to poison him, chose from the Scots who served him on his two expeditions to the Holy Land a certain company as his bodyguard against such sudden conspiracies and treasons, being proved men of fidelity and valour, well worthy of such a post. This custom continued to be observed by succeeding Kings of France, even by Charles V. The institution of the Scots Archers of the King's bodyguard and of his ordinary house guard in the numbers customary from then till now was made, however, by Charles VII., after he had experienced their great fidelity and valour, and particularly to recompense this nation in some sort for their great defeat at the Battle of Verneuil at the hands of John Duke of Alençon.[1] He made the Scotsman, Robert Pittilot, above-mentioned, their captain-in-chief and ratified the company of a hundred Scots men-at-arms instituted by Charles VI. his father, making Robert Stuart, eldest son[2] of Robert Duke of Albany, their captain. They have been maintained ever since, specially by Louis XI. Philippe de Commines has remarked that at the siege of Liège, where Louis had been drawn by Charles of Burgundy, he was gallantly defended by the Scots Guards alone when he was in hazard of his life from a sallying party. They were likewise maintained by Charles VIII., to whom the Scots Guards under Bernard Stuart Lord d'Aubigny did good service (so Commines and Paul Jove tell) in his expedition to Naples, and even at the Battle of Fornovo (*Fornove*); and then by Louis XII., Francis I. and other Kings of France until this present as a strong and sure bond of the ancient league and confederation.

Secondly, foreseeing that innovation gives occasion to weaken the old alliance and that the novelty of imposts

[1] *sic.* ? Bedford.

[2] He was not the eldest son. (See *Exchequer Rolls*, IV. clxxxiii.)

hinders trade, they have wished that the single payment of the old foreign impost should continue.[1] This privilege and exemption granted to the merchants takes its origin from the league between the said two realms, as can be seen by the letters patent thereanent granted by King Francis I. in 1518, and by two other patents of Henry II. of 1554 [2] and 1555, which expressly state that this exemption was granted in consideration of the great and ancient friendship and alliance between the Kings of France and Scotland, and of the great and thankful services which the Scots nation have rendered to the Crown of France. Although we find no letters patent of this privilege earlier than the time of the said King Francis, whether because there was no occasion to demand them, or whether because our people have been too careless about preserving our muniments, yet it is to be presumed that the nation enjoyed this privilege before that date. It seems scarcely likely that Charles V., at the time when the new foreign impost was introduced, and his successors Charles VI., VII., and others who employed the services of the Scots nation should have executed against them the new edict and said impost, and that the country would suffer such an innovation; besides that the French have always enjoyed similar privileges and immunities in Scotland, even the very greatest, enjoying freedom from all customs on entering, and paying for transport only two pence per pound (*deux deniers par livre*), while the other nations trading hither pay four times as much, even the English paying 32 pence

[1] The matter of imposts was at this time a question of practical politics. Lindsay of Balcarres, the Secretary, was himself appointed ambassador to France in March 1596-7, to negotiate 'for observing the old liberties and privileges granted to Scottish merchants trading with France, and for obtaining discharge of customs and imposts.' (*P.C.*, v. 369; *A.P.S.*, iv. 112-113.) The mission, however, was never accomplished. It was said to have been designed partly to allow the Secretary to go to Paris for his health's sake, and to 'be of use during his stay abroad.' He retired from office in December 1597. (*P.C.*, v. lxx-lxxi.)

[2] See T. Moncrieff, 'Memoirs of the Alliance between France and Scotland,' p. 25, in *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. iv. (Glasgow, 1820). The writer has drawn upon French sources and has interesting notes upon the auld alliance. His pamphlet was published at Edinburgh in 1751.

per pound. Moreover, the Scots have granted to the French the exclusive privilege of fishery in Scotland.

Thirdly and lastly, considering that for the most part they have lived together in mutual amity, affording succour to each other, and that they are so closely allied by the association between the royal houses, that they ought to regard the same thing, and avoid the badge of a stranger (*toutes marques d'estranger*), and such seeds of disorder, they have each naturalised the subjects of the other in order to nourish the league by this solemn sign of natural union. Again, in June 1558, King Henry II. by his letters patent more amply and solemnly granted to the Scots this privilege of naturalisation on the occasion of the marriage of his son Francis II., then Dauphin, to the Queen of Scotland, and in consideration of the league and services rendered to the crown of France. From this it seems more than likely that there were earlier letters hereanent which have been lost by negligence, and that this loss has given occasion, firstly to the Archers of the Guard to take general letters for all their members in November 1547, and then in 1558 for all the inhabitants of the country to obtain those by which the above King Henry declared a wish to gratify and favour the Scots with the graces and privileges enjoyed by his own subjects, granting them the power to reside in his realm, to accept, hold and possess all benefices, dignities and offices, ecclesiastical and other, to which they might be rightly and canonically provided according to the decreets, privileges and liberties of the Gallican Church, to take and utilise the fruits and profits to whatsoever sum, to acquire all goods moveable and immoveable in whatsoever sort; also that the heirs might succeed to the enjoyment of the inheritance as if originally natives of the realm, that his procurator general and other agents should not claim those goods acquired by right of escheat (*par droit d'aubiene*),[1] and that the

[1] '*droict d'aubaine*. Escheatage: the right of succession in the estate of all strangers dying in France, without naturalisation, and French-borne issue.' (Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*.) The letters of naturalisation are printed in *A.P.S.*, ii. 515-516.

subjects of Scotland be in no way troubled, and that they may succeed to all to which they have dispensation whether they be resident in France or Scotland, without paying any finance or indemnity of whatsoever amount, of which they were acquitted by the said letters patent. Thereupon similar letters were granted to the French in Scotland (*Sur lesquelles semblables et pareilles furent octroyes aux Francois en Escosse*) by the Queen Dowager and the three Estates in September, 1558. Although these afterwards expired upon the death of the above King Francis II., they have nevertheless been effectuated on both sides in virtue of the said confederation, so that neither before nor since have the Scots in France or the French in Scotland had need of letters of nationalisation to hold office, benefice or heritage there. This was pointed out at the Court of Paris by M. le Président de Thou, then Advocate of the King, in 1575 in the cause by Mr. Adam Blacuod,[1] Scot, provided to the office of counsellor in the Court of Justice (*siege presidial*) of Tours in opposition to a native of the town. M. Tournebul, Scot, has been counsellor in the Court of Paris and later President in the *Parlement* of Rouen. Duncan Macrodorus, also a Scot, has for a long time exercised the office of Lieutenant of the Seneschal of Poitou at St. Maihant, and the above Blacuod still exercises the office of counsellor in the Court of Poictiers. Andrew Forman, Scot, has been Archbishop of Bourges, while his successor, likewise a Scot, named Cokburne,[2] held the see for a long time, and also has been Dean of Clery. Cardinal David Beton has been Bishop of Mirepoix, his nephew James Archbishop of Glasgow, Abbot of Lacay in Poitou. At an earlier time David Panter Bishop of Ross was also Abbot here. Moreover, several Scots have been provided to benefices at St. Quentin and elsewhere without having ever been disturbed on the ground of incapacity, or questioned by the Procurator General of the King as to whether they were naturalised or not. Likewise several

[1] There is an account of Blackwood in Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, ii. 205-211.

[2] Not named in Eubel, *Hierarchia Cath. Med. Aevi.*

Frenchmen have obtained offices, benefices and dignities in Scotland without taking letters of naturalisation. Thus Antoine d'Arsy Sieur de la Baute has been Lieutenant of John Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland; Vilmoir has been Controller; the Sieur d'Osel and Rubie, Counsellors of the Great Council of Scotland; Sebastian d'Avillouris, Clerk (*greffier*) to the Commissaries; one Walter has been Abbot of Glenluce; Ballangine Bishop of Valence has been Abbot of Kelso, and several others. Seeing, then, that the Scots in France and the French in Scotland have always enjoyed this privilege of naturalisation both before the marriage of Queen Mary and Francis II. and after the death of Francis, it is clear that the subjects of the two nations have been naturalised in virtue of this league and confederation.[1]

These, in short, are the principal points of this league, and the mutual help given thereby, with its very remarkable results. It is a league noteworthy both by reason of its antiquity, 805 years having passed since its inauguration,—and because it has always been inviolably preserved by both sides without any rupture, a thing without parallel in the history of any nation.

Apparently a copy, $10\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Vol. B, 406.

CXVI

Huntly to Sir Patrick Murray

25 January 1597-8.

TO OUR RYCHT SPETIALL AND ASSURIT GUD FREND SIR PATRICK MURAI, GENTILLMAN OF HIS MAJESTEIS CHALMER.

Rycht spetiall frend efter our verai hertlie commendation ye sall present thei broune naig vith this letter derect to

[1] In 1594 an Act of Sederunt of the Court of Session reaffirmed that the path was open equally to French and Scots in acquiring honours, dignities, property, etc., by virtue of the auld alliance. This statement was made for the satisfaction of the Paris lawyers (*ut omnino satisfieret Senatus-consulto Parisiensi*). See *Acts of Sederunt*, 1532-1790, p. 23.

his Majestie, quhilk had nocht bein sa lang fra his Majestie gif ane vehement storme of snau had nocht impeditt, quhilk hes bein sua heir that na hors mycht travell guidlie sen our hamcuming, sua ye sall delait the sam to his Majestie. Als ye sall vit, we haw committit creditt to yow in his Majesteis letter, for information of the quhilk creditt we haif send yow na forder instruction at this presentt, bot be the contentis of this present, sua I prai yow delait to his Majestie in ane ernist and substantius forme, that at this presentt thair is greit enormetie and briganei and sindrei uther odious crymis dayillie comittand, sik as revesing of vemen, taking and robing of mercheanttis pakis, quyet murtheris, greit opressing of the puir be violent thift, and ane greit suspition of sum inventious personis to be enteritt in striking and conterfuting his Majestie cunzei bayth of gold and silver. We find the occasione of thir odius vycis and sindrei utheris verai comond for the presentt follouis becaus sa monei yong slycht men ver sustenit in thir partis in this bygon trubilsum tymis amangis heland men and utheris quha than gatt sik libertie be occasion of the tym bayth of steling and reiffing that now albeit it hes pleisit God and his Majestie to satle this cuntrai in rest and quyettnes, yit it can nocht be purgitt of sik lownis that entterit in sic custoum than, that thai na vais vill forbeir; quhilk makis us eweri dai to be molestit with maist odius complaintis alleging that, because sum of thir ewill and odius lymaris ar sum in frendschip vith Makintoche, sum Makenzei, sum authoresitt, at the leist oursein and sufferit, to use thair vikitt traffik vithin the cuntrai or jurisdiction of ane special clan or uther, can nor mai be derectlie mellitt with nor effectualie punesitt bot gif we tak speciall entres and commision heirin. And thairfor first onderstanding his Majesties guid and godlie intention for punesing of vyce and next that this enormetie is verai lyk to breid sindrei deidlie feidis amangis gentillmen and thair frendschip, we intend, God villing, to tak sum panes heir into to his Majesties honour and the quyetnes of his Majesties contrai, and thairfor we prai yow entter ernistlie with his Majestie and purchas commission to us according

to our derection and your promeis to our cousing Knokespek[1] at his away cuming. We luik his Majestie will think the mair ampill this commision be giffin that it sall be the better, for gif we mai sattill the contrai in quyetnes and purge it of sik iniquetie it vill be pleasand to his Majestie, and gif ve mycht advaill our self ony litill thing in doing thair of I am certan his Majestie vill nocht invy the sam, albeit ve knaw thair is monei about his Majesties hand that invyis our estait mekill, and gif this our suit cum to thair knoulege thai vill alleig or caus signefie to his Majestie that it is for extortion of our neporis or sum gredines of geir. Yit his Majestie sall haif the contrar pruiff, for ve craif na thing bot our auin plaice and sik as hes bein in all tymis past the custoum of our predicessouris, and that because nane in thir partis mai or vill presum to minister justeis aganis ony spetiall heland clanis heir bot ve. Thairfor because ve haw menit for this we luik for your part nou as of befoir that your dilligens impeid our enemeis to hender or stay our interpryise, for this commision mai perhapis be interpreitt ane greit fawor and benefeitt of his Majesties gudvill to us be report of our enemeis, bot the Maister of Elphingstowne[2] hes ane obtenit upon les occation without ony impedyment evin within all his awin bondis als ampill as can be maid, and standand for his lyftym nocht to be dischargit and discharging all former commisionis, sua I luik his Majestie vill grantt unto yow to gif us the plaice of justeis our predicessors hes at all tymis occupeitt seing all my consaillis studeis and panis sall evir be to that thing mai plesour or advaill his Majesties honour. We haif wrettin to Maister Hendrei Keir to cause vreitt this commission formallie to yow and to presentt it to yow, and lipnis ye cause his Majestie the tresaurar and utheris as ye find occasion pas the sam, and Maister Hendrei Keir vill pas the seill thairvith. Ye knaw ve haif ane com-

[1] James Gordon of Knockespock.

[2] Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, was a partisan of Huntly, and he also was involved in feuds in the north. See Fraser, *The Lords Elphinstone of Elphinstone*, i. 115-123. No mention is made of the commission here referred to.

missione alradie bot it contenis nocht fals cunzei[1] nor yit generalie the breking the acttis of parlament, bot Knokespek gaif information of this commission to Adam Couper befoir his awai cuming. We ar of intention to do his Majestie that serveis that thair sall be na complaintis furthe of thir parttis gif his Majestie plesis to gif us commission and pouer for ministration of justeis, bot gif his Majestie beis movit to refuise to grant us pouer ve can nocht be fund falt that sik robrie conteneuis on punesitt, quhairfor lat his Majestie ather grant us ampill power uthervais gif us na burdein that sic vyice is nocht expellitt. Sua, resting to your adverteisment ve commit you to God. From the Boig this xxv of Januar 1597 yeiris

[2] Youris maist loving and assurit in the auld maner,

HUNTLYE.

I luik that ye will advertis me particularlie of all occurrentis thair, and quhou far his Majestie hes procedit vith my pairtie, and ye vill not faill to speik his Majestie to get me the falkon his Majestie promesit me that slayis the heron, for I have send this berar expreslie for hir that is ane faconer, and gif his Majestie may speir onie houndis alsua send thaem to me vith this berar.[2]

Original, autograph signature, slits along margins, 2½ pp. Vol. A, 359.

CXVII

Mr. Alexander Douglas to James VI.

22 June 1598.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTIE.

Pleas your Majestie being of new informed that it is the intentioun of divers that ar in commissioun [3] to disapoynt

[1] Perhaps as a result of this petition, some commission seems to have been granted to Huntly to deal with false coiners. He made three arrests shortly before 17 August 1598. (*P.C.*, v. 478.)

[2] Holograph.

[3] Alexander Douglas was one of the fourteen ministers to whom the General Assembly at Dundee in May 1597 granted a general commission ' to conveene with the king, at such tyme and place as his Majestie sould

the meiting, specialie thay of Sanctandrois and sic as be thair moyen may be mowed, or els gif thay keip dyett an[1] to sett thame selffis altogider aganis your Majesties intentioun, quherof I thocht gude to adverteis your Majestie that ather the act and commissioun may be helpit or els that your Majestie will caus travell with sic as ar to be commissioners quherby thay may inclyne to your Majesties desyr. As for my selff, Godvilling I hoip to keip dyett albeit I be mekle boisted.[2] Thair is necessitye of the presence of sum noble men of your Majesties opinioun to deale with the commissioners. Thair is cum na advertesment from your Majestie off the daye quhilk wald be about the last dayes off July. In the mein tyme sen my returning as I haiff wretin to your Majestie befor, I man complane to your Majestie that the escheatis off sic as slew my moder ar now disponit to the committeris off the cryme far by your Majesties intentioun, quhilk was that thai suld be disponit to my moders barns; also by the lawis off the cuntrey quhilk sufferis nocht the escheats to be disponit to the partie offender, and Jhone Innes hes fund cautioun generaly according to the act off parlyament, your Majesties dischergis misregardit.[3] And this I am informed is done to me becaus I am your Majesties man. Alwayes giff your Majesty will help me be law and se reasoun done, thingis may be yit helpit, for Mr. Alexander Hay quhas name wes only borrowit in the gyft [4] is obleist to me be wrett, and the secretar hes cawsed him with

require, under colour to keepe concord betuixt the kirk and the king.' Calderwood stigmatises them as ' the king's led horse,' and, again, as ' a wedge taikin out of the kirk, to rent her with her owne forces, and the verie needle which drew in the threed of bishops.' (v. 644.) The general commission was renewed by the Dundee Assembly in March 1598. (*Ibid.*, 691-692.)

[1] *an*: inserted above the line.

[2] boisted=threatened, menaced.

[3] There was a feud of long duration between the Inneses and the Douglases ' for the slaughter . . . of the late Agnes Leslie, mother of said Mr. Alexander Douglas and his other brothers.' The John Innes here referred to is probably Mr. John Innes of Haltoun. See *P.C.*, v. 698; *Records of Elgin*, i. 222.

[4] Gift of escheat. The Hays had also a blood feud with the Inneses.

your Majesties reverence deceawe me. By this doing pleas your Majestie I am contranit to keip a new day off law in Edinbrugh, quhilk I think wilbe about the tuentie off July or thairby; and tharfor vald understand off your Majestie quhat day therefter your Majestie appoyntis for this meiting that I may keip bayth. I craiff your Majestie maist humelye pardoun of my boldnes vishing your Majestie in the mein tyme to consider my greiffis and to hald me up that dependis upon your Majestie under God, in quhas eternall protectioun I leaff your Majestie. At Elgen this xxii[e] of Junij 1598

Your Majesties awin man

ALEXANDER DOWGLAS.

Holograph, slits along margin, 1 p. Vol. B, 366.

CXVIII

Mandate of James VI. for his ambassadors, and delivered by them to the King of Denmark at Copenhagen in August 1598.

Summa mandatorum atque postulatorum, quae invictissimus atque potentissimus Princeps Jacobus VI. Dei gratia Rex Scotorum Dominus noster clementissimus, Illustrissimo Principi Domino etc. consanguineo affini ac fratri suo charissimo Domino item nostro clementissimo nobis Majestatis suae regiae, legatis ac consiliariis subscribentibus, dedit proponenda.

[*In margin.*] Postulata haec, mutatis quae mutanda erant, ad Regem Daniae, similiter transmissa factant, et exhibita a Dominis legatis Hafniae Augusti 1598.[1]

The King our sovereign lord wishes us to explain with what grief he is afflicted because of the deplorable state of Christendom, torn and vexed by the Turkish wars and

[1] The ambassadors were David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr. Peter Young. See following documents. An Act in their favour during their absence on this embassy was passed by the Privy Council on 22 June 1598. The details of the embassy are not recorded by contemporary historians.

internal feuds, for the healing of which he is ready to devote all his energies; and that he offers to make common cause with his Highness and the other princes of the Holy Roman Empire the better to withstand the common enemy of the Christian name (*ut conjunctis consiliis atque auxiliis communi hosti Christiani nominis maturius ac commodius occurratur*).

He wishes us to instruct you more clearly and fully as to his right to the English throne upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.[1] With increasing years she becomes more sickly; and competitors and their instigators are leaving no stone unturned at home or abroad to prejudice the title of the King of Scots and his children.[2] They are striving to overthrow the state by printing and disseminating books through all the courts of Europe in

[1] At this time the King's mind was 'entirely occupied by one great subject—his title to the English throne after the death of the queen. On this point the tranquillity from other cares now gave James full leisure for thought; and he evinced an extreme sensitiveness in everything connected with it. Reports of speeches against his right of succession in the English parliament; books written in favour of the claim of the Infanta; intrigues of pretenders at home; the jealousy with which the Catholics regarded his reconciliation with the Kirk; the suspicion with which the Kirk observed his favour to the Catholics: all these thorny matters perpetually haunted and harassed him.' (Tytler, ix. 244-245.)

[2] Apart from James, possible candidates for the English throne were:

(*a*) Lord Beauchamp. He had the strongest position as far as parliamentary statute went, but was technically illegitimate, and personally insignificant. Attention had been drawn to his claim in 1596 'through a riot raised by his cousin, Sir John Smith.'

(*b*) Lady Arbella Stewart; a cousin of James VI. See No. LV.

(*c*) The Earl of Huntingdon; in the male descent from Edward IV. (*Political History of England*, vol. vi. p. 477; *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iii. 358-361.)

(*d*) A party of English Catholics petitioned Philip II. to support the claims of his daughter, the Infanta Isabella. (*Spanish Papers*, 1587-1603, no. 653.) In 1594, Father Parsons, under the name of 'R. Doleman,' wrote in her favour a book entitled *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England*. (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iii. 358.)

James, on his side, 'encouraged authors to write upon the question; and jurisconsults, heralds, and genealogists made their harvest of his anxiety.' (Tytler, ix. 247.) John Colville, formerly the supporter of Bothwell, wrote his *Palinod* about this time in order to win the King's favour. See Introduction to *Colville's Letters*, xxix-xxx.

support of their claim; and await the opportunity to take possession of the kingdom (*immineantque omnibus occasionibus regnum . . . involandi atque occupandi*) if the Queen should die (which God forbid!). King James, encouraged by an act of the Estates,[1] as well as by the opinion of many friends—both princes and their most influential councillors, and of the prudent of every age,—took counsel with himself (since rights support the vigilant, not the somnolent) to sound his friends, kinsmen and confederate princes everywhere, but short of inflicting any injury.

Your Highness is counted not least among these friendly princes and kinsmen, united to his Majesty by so many necessities, but chiefly by the strong bond of the reformed religion and also by similarity of manners and temperament (*morum ac studiorum*). King James therefore begs you to make an immediate and affectionate declaration of the help which he may expect from you, if he should have to vindicate his claim by force of arms on the death of the Queen of England. Both by human and divine right the succession lies with him and his heirs, but if he is destitute of friends it may be snatched from him fraudulently or forcibly.

If any one suspects King James of untimely canvassing for the kingdom, he protests a sincere love for the Queen of England, his confederate and nearest of kin. He wishes her well as he would to himself, has always acted towards her with a filial devotion and will do so as long as she lives. He loves and cherishes the whole English people even as the Scots: he is, and always has been, ready to guard and preserve them against their enemies, and he promises on his royal word that he will make no hostile attempt, even against his competitors or against the Queen herself [2] during her lifetime. To do otherwise would be to

[1] Cf. No. CLII.

[2] There may be here an allusion to the affair of Valentine Thomas, 'a miscreant [who] accused James of employing him in a plot against the life of Elizabeth.' The King finally obtained 'a solemn and formal refutation of the whole story,' but the incident created much ill-feeling. (Tytler, ix. 246-247; *C.S.P., Scot.*, ii. *ad indices.*) See, also, the correspondence of Elizabeth and James upon the subject. (*Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, Nos. LXVI–LXIX.)

offend God; but God looks after His own, and King James would wish to receive the kingdom and the crown according to His divine judgment. He would not win the whole world, or the tiniest part thereof, at the sacrifice of loyalty or conscience (*cum pietatis aut conscientiae jactura*). He hopes and trusts that Divine Majesty will always be propitious to him. To attempt anything unrighteously or by force would be to alienate the English people, whose goodwill he seeks by all means to conciliate and retain, and whose weal he keeps ever before his eyes.

But his Majesty has considered that it would not be ungrateful for the Queen of England (whether moved by consideration of his filial offices, or of her advancing years, or by a divine instinct to prevent the outbreak of dire dissensions for the kingdom after her death) to declare him and his children to be by indubitable right the nearest heirs and successors to the crown. Although he does not despair that she will some time do the right thing (*quod non diffidit aliquando demementer* [sic] [1] *facturam*), nevertheless he wishes that his kinsmen and especially the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire would importune her to make this declaration.

He asks lovingly in this case that your Highness, being forewarned by letters about the business and the time, will in brotherly fashion join your ambassadors with his and those of other kings and princes. In the meantime, he requests that you will be diligent in commending the matter to all your neighbours and confederate princes, to enlist their support in so just a cause.

Lastly, we, the royal ambassadors subscribing, offer in the name of our sovereign lord all royal and brotherly offices to your Highness, his dear kinsman: and will always do our humble obedience.

Latin: draft, 5 pp. Vol. A, 254.

[1] The writer seems to have had in mind the verb *demereor*.

CXIX

Instructions in Latin to David Bishop of Aberdeen and Sir Peter Young

1598.

1. How to bring about the public peace of Christendom against the violence of the Turkish Empire.

2. Anent James's undoubted right to the realm of England.

3. Anent the need to persuade Elizabeth to name her successor.

4. That all European princes, especially kinsmen and allies, should support his claim against Spain or other competitors, and afford military help in case of a crisis.

5. They are to act upon the advise of the King of Denmark in carrying out negotiations, and to beg him to write exhortatory letters to the Princes to unite in an embassage to Elizabeth.

(See No. VII, Part VII.)

CXX

Reply of Christian IV. to Mr. David Cuningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr. Peter Young of Setoun, Great Eleemosynar of Scotland, ambassadors of James VI., King of Scots. Given 3rd August 1598.

After preliminary commendations and courtesies his Majesty replies to the request of James for aid, if need be, against his competitors in the English succession.

It is certain that God, the great Governor of human affairs, always the bestower, maintainer and transferrer of sceptres according to His divine justice, will not withhold His favour from the King of Scots, if his cause is just. In such a momentous matter it is not unnatural that he should be anxious to enlist external help, notwithstanding that his subjects are fully prepared to support him in every event. His Majesty gladly recognises the claims

which ancient and recent bonds of friendship lay upon him in such a case, should his own circumstances permit.

Nevertheless, with the turbulent state of the times, with wars and tumults and universal insecurity it would be dangerous to weaken his forces by foreign entanglements. Moreover, his Majesty has particular grave disputes with certain powerful neighbouring princes and states concerning boundaries, disputed rights, and certain distant territories rashly occupied of late (*territoriis quibusdam longe hinc dissitis iam non ita pridem temere occupatis*). He must therefore use unceasing vigilance to repair his losses when opportunity offers, and resist his enemies lest they make greater attempts upon him.

Further, there are fresh disturbances in the Baltic Sea and hostile fleets are now cruising within the bounds of his kingdom. It is still uncertain what will be the result, and where they will go, so that the king and his Estates are kept in a state of anxious suspense. Because of these and other impediments at home and abroad his Majesty cannot promise support in war to King James. He trusts that James with his great prudence and mature judgment will consider the matter in all its aspects and accept his sincere and necessary excuses.

But if circumstances should be changed by the death of the Queen of England, and if his Majesty should be required by King James himself, making his request in time of need with the advice and common consent of the Estates of his kingdom, he will declare himself according as that and the affairs of Denmark permit.

As to the other Princes and Electors of the Holy Roman Empire whom the Scottish ambassadors are commissioned to approach, when his Majesty receives a list of their names, he will use his diligence to send them friendly letters, which, indeed, he has even now ordered to be compiled in readiness (*in eventum*). He is willing to do any other service that lies in his power, and begs the ambassadors to make a report.

Latin: copy, 4 pp. Vol. A, 257v.

CXXI

Christian IV. to James VI.

4 August 1598.

The Scots ambassadors, Mr. David Cunningham Bishop of Aberdeen, and Peter Young of Setoun, can testify to the devotion of King Christian to King James. With weighty words they have aptly and skilfully expounded their important negotiation. He trusts in their integrity to deliver his reply with equal pains and fidelity; and to give fullest assurances of his brotherly affection and good will.

'Datae e Regia nostra Hafniensi [Copenhagen], 4 Augusti, Anno 1598.'

Latin: copy, 1½ pp. Vol. A, 257.

CXXII

Christian Frisius, Chancellor of Denmark, to James VI.

6 August 1598.

Expresses humble thanks for the King's letters, delivered by the ambassadors. They are still another token of the royal favour and remembrance. He feels the utmost gratitude: and therefore his Majesty's request was pleasant and the bearers of it most welcome. He has not failed to do his utmost for them as far as the difficulties of the times allowed.

'Datae Hafniae 6 Augusti Anno 1598.
Christianus Frisius, manu propria.'

Latin: copy, 1⅓ pp. Vol. A, 273.

CXXIII

Christopher Walkendorf, Master of the Household (Regis Aulae Magistri) *of the King of the Danes, to James VI.*

8 August 1598.

Returns reverential thanks to the King for his letters, and highly commends his requests and the fidelity and skill of the ambassadors in their negotiations. He wishes

that the state of the times had been such that he could have shown more clearly his goodwill and zeal in promoting his Majesty's affairs, but he hopes that the King will accept his services in the best part and continue to extend his royal favour to him.

'Hafniae viii° Augusti Anno 98.
Christophorus Valkendorfp manu propria.'

Latin: copy, 1⅕ pp. Vol. A, 274.

CXXIV

Henry Ramel, Counsellor of Denmark, to James VI.

8 August 1598.

He will never be able to prove the extent of his gratitude for so many favours, old and recent, extending through many years, recently increased by the grant of promotorials (*indultis Promothorialibus*) to the King of Poland and Sweden (although delivered to him somewhat late, when the business was already concluded), and now crowned by the gracious letters sent by the ambassadors.

Many impediments have prevented him from accomplishing as much as he had wished in the King's present business; but it is God Who will conduct his Majesty's just endeavours to a happy issue, as time and circumstances will require.

'Haffniae vi. Id. Sextilis. Anno MDIIC.'

Latin: copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 275.

CXXV

Sophia, Queen Dowager of Denmark, to James VI.

12 August 1598.

She has received the king's letters from his ambassadors, who have ably expounded their negotiation. Accredits them with her reply, and sends commendations to him, and his wife and children.

'Nicopie [Nyköping] 12 Augusti Anno etc 1598.'

Latin: copy, ½ p. Vol. A, 260.

CXXVI

Ulrick, Duke of Mecklenburg, to James VI.

20 August 1598.

After commendation of the ambassadors, he has been greatly pleased to hear from James's letters, and from their report, of the happy state of his affairs. As to the King's requests anent the embassy, he has replied in writing as befits the occasion. He has given the letter to the ambassadors, and begs his Majesty to receive it in good part. He will ever be most ready to promote the interests of King James and of his wife and children.

'Datae Gustrovii [Gustrow] 20 die mensis Augusti anno 1598.'

Latin: copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 260.

CXXVII

Reply of the Duke of Mecklenburg to James VI. delivered to his ambassadors, Mr. David Cunningham (Cuningamus) and Mr. Peter Young de Setoun, Great Eleemosynar.

20 August 1598.

We cannot sufficiently commend your Majesty's desire to deserve well of the Christian Commonwealth and the Holy Roman Empire, especially because we see you offer yourself in a service to which his Imperial Majesty has hitherto scarcely been able with great pains and diligence to stir up nearer neighbours among foreign kings. Touching the matter of the embassy, we remember that we were instructed before of your Majesty's right of succession to the English throne on the death of Queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, we are glad to learn somewhat more fully from the ambassadors the grounds of your Majesty's claim. And although we do not doubt that your arguments, deduced from the genealogy of the Kings of England, are too strong to be refuted, yet we think it prudent on your

Majesty's part that, when you see some who presume to oppose you, you should take mature advice how to defend and preserve your legal right (*ius sibi competens*). This we believe could not be done more suitably at the present time (under the providence of Almighty God, by Whose will alone kingdoms are disposed) than by a declaration of the Queen of England while still alive. We think that no better steps could be taken than that she should be warned at the earliest opportunity, either by letters or ambassadors, of the many inconveniences that are to be dreaded if she should die without a definite declaration of the succession; and if it pleases your Majesty we will gladly join our ambassadors in such a representation. We do not doubt but that the Queen by reason of her singular piety and prudence will do what the right of blood and justice itself demand, and will not allow any injustice after her death to tarnish the fair name which she bore in life. We thus hope that, with the blessing of God, your Majesty will easily be able to preserve your lawful right inviolate, and not require to vindicate it by force. But where your Majesty asks, during the lifetime of the Queen of England, for an amicable declaration from friendly and confederate Princes as to what help you might expect from them, if you should have to resort to arms against competitors upon her death, we persuade ourselves that you would not employ force without urgent cause, but we do not altogether disapprove your Majesty's prudent plan.

We do not doubt but that your cause, inherently just, will commend itself to the Queen when she perceives that many Princes related to you by blood and affinity will not fail to afford their advice and support to your Majesty, as the legitimate heir and successor, against the iniquitous machinations of others. For our part, we do not wish to bind ourselves to grant any definite subsidy. Nevertheless, we desire fully to assure your Majesty that your cause will commend itself very greatly to us, and that we will consider nothing too heavy to undertake for the defence of your undoubted right at whatsoever place and time. In a word, we will hold your friends as our friends, and your enemies

as our enemies, and so far as in us lies we will never allow the right of your Majesty and your son, our dearest great-grandson, to be snatched from you by force or injustice.

If your Majesty's ambassadors think that our letters commendatory would help them to expedite their business among the other Princes of Germany, we will not withhold them.

If chance offers occasion of intercourse with any Princes we will not fail to do our best to encourage them to lend their support to such a just cause.

These are the things which we wish the ambassadors to report to your Majesty, with the expression of our good-will.

'Signatum Gustrovii 20 Augusti Anno etc 1598.

Udalricus Dux Megapolensis manu propria.'

Latin: copy, 4⅕ pp. Vol. A, 261.

CXXVIII

Jacobus Bordingus, Chancellor of Mecklenburg, to James VI.

20 August 1598.

Thanks the King for his letters. Considers it not the least among his fortunes that he is greatly beloved and esteemed by such an excellent King. According to his Majesty's request, he has not failed to do what he could to promote the negotiation of the ambassadors with the Duke of Mecklenburg. He commends his services.

'Datae Gustronii 20 Augusti Anno 98.'

Latin: copy, ¾ p. Vol. A, 274.

CXXIX

Summary of the resolution of the Elector Joachim Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg,[1] delivered to the Scots ambassadors

1 September 1598.

1. Opens with customary commendations.

[1] Joachim Frederick succeeded as Elector of Brandenburg in 1598. (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iii. 715.)

2. Touching the help against the Turks; he sends the King thanks for his own part; but all these matters must be laid before the Emperor in the first place.

Touching the English succession on the death of Queen Elizabeth; that is an affair of such moment that the Elector cannot come to any resolution without first consulting the other Electors and Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. A convention would need to be called of the counsellors of the confederate Princes, but if it is agreed to hold a convention of the ambassadors of the King of Denmark, the Elector Palatine, of Henry Julius Duke of Brunswick, and Ulrick Duke of Mecklenburg, it will not be displeasing to the Elector. Along with others, he will promote the convention as soon as possible, and will perform all the offices of a true kinsman and brother. A uniform response of so many Electors and Princes will be more advantageous to King James than separate ones would be. The Elector would send an embassy to the Queen of England if the King of Denmark would join, even if other Electors and Princes in Germany were unwilling.

'Signatum Custrini [Custrin] Primo mensis Septembris Anno Domini 1598.

Manu propria Johan a Löben Cancellarius Marchiae.'

Latin: copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 264.

CXXX

Frederick William, Duke of Saxony, to James VI.

9 September 1598.

From your Majesty's letters and the narration of your ambassadors we have been made aware of your friendly feeling towards the Emperor, the Holy Roman Empire and the orders of the same, and also that you are minded to preserve inviolate and hand down to posterity the bonds of ancient kinship (*cognationis et antiquae conjunctionis*) between your Majesty, the whole House of Saxony and ourself. For that reason you have committed to our faith

and friendship this cause anent the English succession, explained your rights and refuted the counter-claims of your adversaries, and (if the fates will it so) ask our advice and help in securing what you believe to belong to you. In a like spirit of friendship we wish you the fulfilment of your desires and the peaceful attainment of your alleged rights. As to the principal matter, the exhibition of your Majesty's rights against the claims of your adversaries, we have not the slightest doubt but that the line of the succession, springing from a common stock and confirmed by the custom of the English kingdom, is as well known to the Queen and the nobility of England as to us. If it comes to a deliberation concerning a successor it will carry much weight with one and all to have the support (*salutaria consilia*) of many kingdoms and provinces in your favour; they will think it better to appropriate a king than to seek one.

We do not doubt also that the Queen will give greater preference to her own kinsman than to others not thus bound to her by ties of blood, and that she will increase your increments and emoluments of her own accord and by her own authority, which is powerful. There are many who believe that your Majesty does not place sufficient hope and confidence in this. We think that hitherto this cause has not lacked the support of others. Therefore we leave it free to your Majesty and the ambassadors to consider if this matter might be done by the advice and authority of others better than by that good inclination which we cannot doubt the Queen bears towards your Majesty, or whether their intercession may not make the mind of the Queen again waver rather than promote your cause. Moreover, the orders of the Holy Roman Empire, and particularly the Electors, are so knit together by laws and plighted faith, that for public safety one cannot make plans without the other.

As for the first point, because it seems necessary for the liberty of their fatherland, hearths and homes, they are content to join their embassies and forces against the Turk, the common enemy of all Christendom.

As the ambassadors and your Majesty may easily understand, it is necessary for us to deliberate with the other Electors and Princes of the Holy Roman Empire concerning your Majesty's desires. We beg you to consider that we are not at liberty to make any definite promise in the matters proposed by your Majesty. Nevertheless, we will gladly undertake to do what we can to promote your cause, by letters or embassies, among our kinsmen and confederate princes. After we have heard the opinion of the other princes, we shall write to your Majesty further of our mind, and we promise our favour to the ambassadors.

'Signatum in arce Moritzburgh 9° Sep. Anno MDXCVIII.'

Latin: copy, 3⅓ pp. Vol. A, 265.

CXXXI

Frederick William, Duke of Saxony, Tutor [1] *and Administrator of Electorate of Saxony, to James VI.*

10 September 1598.

Your ambassadors have delivered their letters and related their message in credit. We have given them our answer in writing so that your Majesty may perceive the more clearly how we desire the increase of your dignity and kingdom, and will do all that becomes us (*commode atque ordine*) to promote the same.

'Datum in arce Moritzburgk 10 Septembris Anno 1598.

Ad Serenitatis Suae manus proprias.'

Latin: copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 264v.

CXXXII

Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, [2] *to James VI.*

25 September 1598.

We have learned with the utmost pleasure from your Majesty's letters that you have determined not only to

[1] He was guardian for Christian II., then a minor. He was a Lutheran. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 417.)

[2] Succeeded in 1592; a Prince of strong Calvinist sympathies. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 375.)

renew the bonds (*iura*) of ancient consanguinity and of more recent affinity, intermitted for a time against your Majesty's wishes, but also to transmit them to posterity, fostered by all manner of friendship (*omnibus fraternis officiis*); and to that end have sent your counsellors on matters of the greatest moment, pertaining to the honour and emolument of us both. We wish to hear them kindly, and to send a loving and worthy reply to your Majesty.

We were glad to learn from the ambassadors of your excellent health and happy government, and to hear their able exposition of all the other matters which they had in credit. Your Majesty will be informed by them of what we have been able to reply at present to all these things.

To our unspeakable pleasure your Majesty's ambassadors at your command have recalled to our memory the old rights and necessities of both our families. These were, indeed, sufficiently well known to us before, but in being recalled by your Majesty they have struck even deeper roots. You may therefore be assured that that ancient bond of consanguinity and affinity, which you have renewed by your letters, we will foster and augment in future with all brotherly friendship in such way that you will have abundant proof of our zeal in your cause (*nostra erga se propensissima studia*).

'Datae Cassellis [Cassel] die 25 Septembris Anno 1598.'

Latin: copy, 1½ pp. Vol. A, 266v.

CXXXIII

Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, to James VI.

25 September 1598.

From the fiduciary letters of your Majesty and the statement of your ambassadors we have learned the negotiation which they had in mandate. We return thanks for your expressions of good-will, and reciprocate the same.

As to the bond of consanguinity and affinity, the profession of evangelical truth and zeal of morals (*morum studia*), which induced your Majesty to send this embassy,

it gave us the greatest pleasure to hear your ambassadors recall the remote origin of both our houses, and to be approached, in virtue thereof, not as a foreign prince, but as your kinsman and brother. We believe that there is no more binding tie between upright and zealous men than the profession of sincere religion and the care of morals. Since the bonds of relationship (*ea necessitudinis iura*) are an inheritance from our ancestors, we, walking in their footsteps, will endeavour not only to cultivate and preserve the hereditary friendship with your Majesty, but also to enrich it and transmit it to posterity.

Anent the chief business of the embassy, on account of the danger which may easily arise out of any mishap we judge it worthy of wise and mature deliberation. The gravity of the cause, however, and the exigencies of the time do not permit us to determine straightway upon either of your Majesty's requirements. Nevertheless we do not wish to be found wanting, but rather to support your Majesty with our counsels. We will therefore consult with our cousin Ludovick,[1] the Landgrave of Hesse, and other kindred princes touching both your Majesty's requests, namely the subsidies and the legation to England; and will declare our mind along with them. Hence you will understand that we are urged to this solely that your Majesty's rights may be preserved undamaged, and the weal and quiet of kingdoms inviolate.

In the meantime we do not doubt but that the Queen of England with her great prudence and piety will act in such a way that the growing tumults may be suppressed, and that the peace and tranquillity of her kingdom may endure.

Moreover, when you consider that it is God alone who transfers kingdoms and diadems we think that your Majesty should employ in the first place those means which tend to public tranquillity and safety.

'Cassellis 25 Septembris Anno 1598.'

Latin: copy, 2 pp. Vol. A, 267v.

[1] Ludovick, or Louis, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt.

CXXXIV

Henry Julius, Bishop Postulate of Halberstadt,[1] *Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to James VI.*

1 October 1598.

He has been informed by his Majesty's letters of the embassy directed to the King of Denmark and other Princes of the Holy Roman Empire Has seen and heard the ambassadors gladly; and they will deliver his reply. With greetings to the Queen and royal family.

'Datae ex arce nostra Groninga [Castle of Gröningen] Calend. Octobris Anno 1598.

Henricus Julius manu sua.'

Latin: copy, ¾ p. Vol. A, 268v.

CXXXV

Reply of Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick, delivered to the Scots ambassadors

1 October 1598.

He has willingly heard the truly polished and distinguished oration in which the ambassadors, David, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Mr. Peter Young of Setoun (*Petrus Iunius in Setoun haeres*), Great Eleemosynar of Scotland, expounded their mandate in the name of his Majesty. He understands it to consist of seven heads.

1. Lest they should seem to be sent by an alien and foreign king, they enumerated binding links of friendship between the King and the Duke, arising from a parity and harmony (*concensa*) of Orthodox Religion, and the bond of consanguinity, propinquity and affinity.

2. They point out what great grief his Majesty suffers for the state of Christendom, afflicted by dire wars with the Turks and internal dissensions, and that he promises to devote all his royal energies to healing these wounds,

[1] His son Christian, also Bishop of Halberstadt, fought in the Protestant cause at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 433.)

and—as far as concerns private matters—always to hold himself the friend of the friends of the Duke, and the enemy of his enemies.

3. The third head consists in a bold exposition of his birthright (*in iuris natalis nervosissima deductione*) to the kingdom of England, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth; and in a refutation of the claims of his adversaries and alleged competitors.

4. What help he may expect from the Duke if it so happen that he be forced to vindicate his right to the kingdom by force of arms.

5. Contains a protestation and declaration of filial affection and love towards the Queen and subjects of England, and that he has no intention to adopt any hostile measures, even against his competitors; but merely takes pains to have, with a good conscience, the support of God Almighty and of all men in this matter.

6. An exposition of the causes why the King must take mature deliberation hereanent.

7. The last head contains that, since it is hoped that at some time by reason of his filial regard, or the equity of his cause or for other considerations the Queen of England may be moved to recognise his Majesty and his children as her true and undoubted heirs, the Duke will not mislike the intercession of kindred princes to impetrate that declaration, nor be disinclined to join his with the ambassadors of the other kindred princes.

To the foregoing, the Duke thus replies.

He is happy to receive the friendly greeting of his Majesty, and to learn of the welfare of himself and of his wife and children, and of prosperity in other things. Although not unknown to him before, he is glad to hear the rehearsal of the links of friendship between the two Princes, both of them of the most noble families of all Europe. He asks the ambassadors to greet his Majesty on his part with loving offers of friendly services, as becomes a kinsman.

He warmly commends the King's zeal to heal the wounds of Christendom, and to espouse the cause of the Duke

himself as an individual. In his turn, he promises not only to unite with his Majesty in directing his entire thoughts and energies to healing the body politic, as becomes all Christian princes, but also to reciprocate his brotherly love and steadfast support.

He is convinced of the King's right to succeed Queen Elizabeth; congratulates him upon the same, and advises him to employ all his powers and every argument (*summis viribus omnique animi contentione*) to obtain it. It is not blameworthy for him to take timely consideration of ways and means of securing his evident rights against competitors.

If it come to a pass that the King has to vindicate his position by force of arms, and the Duke is then asked to supply help, he will give his response after deliberation with the other Princes, and will acquit himself towards his Majesty in a way befitting their strait friendship. He does not doubt but that the King will prosecute his just cause with his accustomed prudence, so that (under God) he will find himself supported by the Queen and subjects of England and all others whose help is needful. He would be willing to join with the other Princes if necessity demanded and they thought fit to send an embassy to Elizabeth, and will not fail to use his influence with them on the King's behalf.

This is the substance of the reply which the Duke begs the ambassadors to deliver to the King anent their mandate. Written in his hand and under his seal. 'In arce Groninga [Gröningen] Calend: Octobris Anno 1598.

Henricus Julius manu sua.'

Latin: copy, 4 pp. Vol. A, 269.

CXXXVI

Elizabeth, Duchess of Brunswick, to James VI.

1 October 1598.

Is glad to hear from the King's letters that the royal family are in good health. The ambassadors will inform

him that her husband, Henry Julius, and children are well. She has been seriously ill for some months, but is now restored to moderate health.

'Datae ex arce Grong: Calend: Octob: Anno 1598. Elisabetha Dei Gratia ex Regio Danorum sanguine, Ducissa Brunswicensis ac Lunaeburgensis.'

Latin: copy, 1 p. Vol. A, 270v.

CXXXVII

Johan Adolph, Bishop Elect of Lübeck,[1] Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, etc., to James VI.

7 October 1598.

After commendations, we have learned from your Majesty's ambassadors what reasons moved you to send them to Denmark and other parts of Germany, and we are happy to be informed by them that the King of Denmark and several other princes of the Holy Roman Empire have complied with your wishes (*ad nutum et voluntatem Vestrae Majestatis se accommodaverint*). We gather from their oration that your Majesty desires in especial two things of us. First, what support would we give in the case that you had to vindicate your right of succession to the throne of England against competitors upon the death of Queen Elizabeth? Secondly, that we would associate our ambassador with those which your Majesty and Princes of the Empire would send to England to impetrate a declaration from the Queen, lest at any time disturbance (*funesta tragaedia*) arise anent the succession.

As for the first, we condole with your Majesty upon the factions and conspiracies which are being fomented, even under your very eyes (*quasi in precinctu*), but we hope that Almighty God will change the perverse designs of men against the divine ordinance of the magistracy

[1] Bishop of Lübeck in 1586, according to *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 479-480.

(*perversas hominum cogitationes Deum Opt. Max. contra legitimam suam ordinationem, quae est magistratus, immutaturum*). Otherwise, we think it behoves you to cast out the iniquity by lawful means according to justice and the judgment of every right-thinking man; and to acquire the kingdom by the legitimate right of succession. As far as in us lies we will not fail your Majesty; yea rather, what the King of Denmark and the other Princes of Germany will grant, we will also grant according to our power; and we will never suffer any prejudice to be done to you or your children, nor any injustice inflicted (*ullamque iniustam conditionem inferri*) in the matter of the English succession.

As to the second point; we will add our envoy to those of the other Kings and Princes; and, on being informed of the time, will make no delay.

This we have thought fit to write briefly to your Majesty in answer to the matters expounded by your ambassadors.

'Datae ex arce nostra Gottorpio [Gottrop] 7 Octobris 1598.

Johannes Adolphus Dux.'

Latin: copy, 2¼ pp. Vol. A, 271v.

CXXXVIII

Joachim Bassevitz,[1] Captain of Dobbertini and Counsellor of the Duke of Mecklenburg, to James VI.

8 October 1598.

I thank your Majesty for the letters which I have received from your ambassadors with due reverence, as a new proof of your wonderful magnanimity; and should like to show my gratitude by doing my little best for them. Verily, they might be compared to Homer's Nestor in respect of the great wisdom, ability in affairs, and gifts of character, whereby they have aroused the highest admiration in the counsellors and ministers of the Duke. He himself is delighted about their coming and their conversation (*adventu congressuque illorum*), and shows them the utmost favour.

[1] Joachimus Bassevitius was present as ambassador of the Duke of Mecklenburg at the baptism of Prince Henry. (*K.J.S.*, 335.)

As far as the state of Germany permits, they have gained what they sought of the Duke in your name. I myself, bound to your Majesty by the ties of gratitude, have done what I could to promote the matter, and will not fail to serve your Majesty to the best of my strength and power in these parts.

Three years ago I commended to your Majesty Martin Braschius[1] a learned professor of Rostock and an illustrious poet, when he published the eloquent poem *De disjecta Pontificia factione* to the praise and immortal glory of your Majesty. I am persuaded that this commendation carried some weight, and that he is obliged to you on that account. He is a scholar deserving of love and recognition, as the ambassadors can testify from their knowledge of him. With concluding courtesies.

'Datae Dobbertini [probably Doberan] 8 Oct. Anno 98.

Joachimus Basevitius praefectus Dobbertinensis Dominus haereditarius in Levitzoow, manu propria.'

Latin: copy, 1⅞ pp. Vol. A, 272v.

CXXXIX

Christian IV. to James VI.

27 October 1598.

We have had much pleasure in welcoming your ambassadors on their return from Germany and in hearing the report of the happy success of their mission there. We gladly announced to them that, as we wish all things to be prosperous, we had also sent our letters to several Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, our allies; and showed them how much we had been able to accomplish through our brotherly affection. The result of these matters we refer to the ambassadors' report.

But since at the end of their embassy they requested us to add our ambassador also when a legation was to be

[1] 1565-1601. See Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon; Beitrage zur Meckl. Kirchen- u. Gelehrtengesch.* von J. B. Kreg. I am indebted for this note to Miss E. Arnstrom, Copenhagen.

sent into England, we have been moved by the close bonds of our friendship to do what can be expected of us in such a great matter. We will send our ambassador upon this mission, when your Majesty thinks fit, and on account of the difficulties of the sea journey, we beg to have timely notice of the date of this expedition, of the day on which our envoy should be dispatched, and to what place he should resort. When we have been informed about these points, we will respond speedily to your petition.

'Datae Coronaburgi [Kronenburg] 27° viii bris Anno etc., 1598.'

[*Marginal note*] The king of Denmarkis letter gevin ws at our bakcuming.

Latin: copy, ¾ p. Vol. A, 259v.

CXL

Chancellor Montrose and others to James VI.

18 June 1599.

TO HIS MAJESTIE.

Pleis it your Majestie, haveinge convenit this day according to your Heynes directioun to confer upoun the disordourit estate of the west marche [1] and laying doun of ovirturis how the Lieutennent may be continewit in that charge [2] and assuirance maid of his payment, we have found that the avise consent and opinioun of the baronis of that marche be craved and had in this mater, without

[1] The unruly state of the West March gave much concern to the Government at this time. James, with an eye to the English succession, had a special interest in the reduction of 'the disordourit and brokin men of the Bordouris, enemeyis to the publict peace and quietnes betuix the realmis.' In November the Privy Council, declaring that 'the cheiff and onlie caus of the grite misreule and unquietnes of the West Bordour . . . hes bene the deidlie feidis and querrellis standing betwix the principall noblemen and barronis,' commanded certain of these chiefs to submit their differences to arbitration. (*P.C.*, vi. 13, 46.)

The records of the Privy Council make no reference to any proposed 'taxatioun,' such as is here alluded to.

[2] On 31 July, 'Williame, Earl of Angus, at the request of the barons of the West March, undertakes to continue in office as lieutenant within the said bounds.' (*A.P.S.*, iv. 182; *P.C.*, vi. 17.) His commission was originally granted on 29 June 1598. (*A.P.S.*, iv. 170; *P.C.*, v. 464.)

quhais avise thair can na taxatioun be imposed upoun thame, and with that that some of the esteatis be writtin for to approve and allow of the ordour to be tane and aggreit upoun. And for this effect we causit forme missives alsveill to the esteatis as baronis, quhilkis we have heirwith directit to your Majestie to be subscrivit or alterit according as your heynes sall think expedient. In the meantyme we sall deale and travell with the Lieutennent to continew in that charge quhile the appointit dyet for this purpois. And as we sall see him disposit in this particulair, we sall immediatlie acquent your Majestie thairwith. Unto the quhilk tyme maist humelie taking our leave, we commit your Majestie to the protectioun of God. Frome Edinburgh the xviij day of Juny 1599.

Your Majesteis humble and obedient subjectis

MONTROISS, Cancellarius [1]
Sir ROBERT MELVILL
Sir ROBERT KER
M. T. HAMILTON — M. E. BRUCE
JO: PRESTOUN — P. DUNKELD

Original, autograph signatures, 1 p. Vol. B, 402.

CXLI

Mr. George Gledstanes [2] to Sir Patrick Murray

[? *c.* September 1599.]

TO THE RYT HONORABILL SIR PATRIK MURRAYE OFF BIN KNYCHT.

My lord, my lovinge commendationes premitted, this berar your cuising is employed be our Presbyterie (beand

[1] The Privy Councillors who sign this letter are: John Graham, third Earl of Montrose, Chancellor; Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairney; Mr. Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss; Peter Rollock, Bishop of Dunkeld; Sir Robert Ker of Cessford; Mr. Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn, King's Advocate, afterwards Earl of Haddington; Sir John Preston of Fentonbarns, Collector.

The King had been present in the Council of 15 June, at Leith.

[2] Mr. George Gledstanes was translated from Arbirlot to St. Andrews in 1597, to take the place of the disgraced Mr. David Black, and also, it has been said, 'of purpose to ballance and poize Mr. Andrew Melvill, and to

our moderator for the present) to deale with yow for Mr. Jhon Carmichell.[1] Ther hes beine her much ado for his propositiones be ane intelligence quhilk hes cum to folkes her be Mr. William Scot [2] the clark thair agent as I am informed. I mervell be quhat meane ony of your secreittis suld be divulgat. Alvayes for thair satisfactioun it is litill purpose to schaw thame that the brint of these propositiounis beand gryt, ye could do na les nor send thame to his Majestie [3] [4]give ye think meit,[4] for of me thai knaw nathinge of ther materis, I assuire yow, albeit thai haive beine very curious, except this, that quhan I vas in

guard the Universitie and students against his principles.' (Calderwood, v. 650 ; *Fasti*, v. 232 ; *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*, ii. 828 n., quoting Martine, *Reliquiae Divi Andreae*.) He became Bishop of Caithness in 1600, and Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1606.

[1] Mr. John Carmichael, minister of Newburn from 1595 to 1603. (*Fasti*, v. 223.)

[2] Mr. William Scott, minister at Kennoway, 1593-1604. (*Fasti*, v. 91.)

[3] This perhaps gives the clue to the date and subject-matter of this letter. A serious situation arose in September 1599, when certain ' propositiouns,' which were judged ' treasonable, seditious, and wicked,' were remitted to the King by the Synod of Fife. (Calderwood, v. 744.) James Melville, who could speak from personal knowledge, specifies no names. He says, ' In the mean tyme, at our Synod in September, 1599, a weill meining brother, my colleg, gaiff in to the Assemblie a certean Anglopiscopapisticall conclusionnes, wherof he haid over guid a warrand of the Kings buik, intitulat [*Basilikon Doron*], bot because it haid but of accident cum in his hand, and was nocht published, he could nocht be plane. The Synod iudget tham treasonable, seditius, and wicked, thinking that sic things could nocht be, and directed tham to the King. The King, knawing the warrand durst nocht be exhibit, gettes knawlage of the brother that gaiff tham in, and sends to apprehend him ; bot God watched over him, and saued him.' (*Diary*, 294.) Spottiswoode says that Sir Patrick Murray was present in the synod as a commissioner from the King (iii. 80-81), but he and Calderwood both state that the obnoxious paper was drawn up by Mr. John Dykes, minister at Anstruther. Dykes, however, seems never to have been minister at Anstruther. At this time he was minister at Kilrenny, and succeeded Carmichael at Newburn in 1604. (*Fasti*, v. 213, 223.) Calderwood and Spottiswoode may have confused the two men ; or, more probably, Carmichael was also associated in the compiling of the ' propositiouns.' *Basilicon Doron*, a ' Treatise on Government ' drawn up by James VI. and dedicated to Prince Henry, ' contained an attack upon the Presbyterian form of Church government ' and aroused a storm of indignation. (Tytler, ix. 261-263.)

[4] Added in margin.

Edinburgh I hard in all places a gryt motioun anent these propositiounis and sindrie var inquisitive of thame. Bot as concerning our materis thai knaw nathinge, I persuad yow, and thairfor be war quhat ye speik. Alvays be als pleasand as ye may keipand substance. Your cuisinge I can nocht plain on him, and this erand is cum on him by his purpose. God keipe our maister, for we will misse him schortlie for oght I see. Thus referring to metinge, quhilk sall be als schuine as I may, I commit yow to God. St. Andrews this Thursday

Youris awin man *sicut ante*

M. George Gladstanis.

For Goddis saik try quhow this is that ony of our materis cummis to knaulege. I sall answer for ane upon my lyff.

Holograph, slits along the margin, 1 p. Vol. A, 402.

CXLII

Lady Bonytoun to James VI.

29 March [1601].

Schir, Pleis your Majestie, I am maist sorie for this unhappie accident sa unnaturallie fallin in the handis of my naturall sonne.[1] Albeit his behaviour hes ben unnaturall to me and his father baith, yit, Sir, your Majestie may haiff me excusit off this my baldnes to be maist humble supplicant at your Majesties handis for favour and pardoine

[1] Naturall here means legitimate. In March 1601, James Wood, fiar of Bonytoun, and William Wood, laird of Latoun, ' brake up the old Laird of Bonyton's hous in Angus, and tooke away all the evidences, and other plenishing . . . and within five or six dayes after, resorted opinly to Edinburgh, and were at the masse.' They were apprehended and sentenced to death on a charge of theft and treason. Bonytoun was beheaded on 27 April in spite of the ' great intercessioun ' of Huntly and others for one who had been their active confederate. Calderwood states that ' the ministers were instant with the king to have a prooffe of his sinceritie,' and that the accused ' pretended he suffered for the Catholick Roman religioun, but it was no point of his dittay.' Latoun obtained pardon by the intervention of Court friends. (Calderwood, vi. 103, 104, 105 ; Pitcairn, ii. 340-347.)

to his youthheid, for albeit his behaviour hes beine young thir yeeris bygane I attribut mair to ewill cunsall nor to him selff. And giff your Majestie taik ordour (as I dout nocht) with his cunsallouris, bot yit he wilbe ane guid man. For, Sir, giff this letter with the credit off sa trustie ane berair may nocht find favour at your Majesties handis, I will assuir your Majestie that ever I may importun your Majestie with my awn presence untill I find favour to my sone for saiftie off his lyff, he being alwayis keipit in suire firmance till we be repoinit to our awin, and Barbara Gray,[1] his alleigit spous remoweit fra the landis off Birnes my conjunct fie.[2] As for his behaviour to me, I am assured his awin conscience accusis him, quhairoff I am sorie. Sir, the affection of ane mother hes maid me to owersie my [*sic*] in begyning to be ane requeister, and omitting to giff your Majestie maist humble thankis for this great favour schawin to my husband and me, quhilk we can nocht acquyt, bot with our prayeris wisheing at God that this cuntray may lang injoy your Majestie quha is the onlie confort to all that fearis God and wald live under your Majesties protectioun and obedience off your Majesties lawis, as be the contrair your hienes is ane terrour to all sick as feiris nocht God nor the obedience off your Majesties lawis. And albeit this particular concernis ws, quhairin your Majestie hes kyithe [3] your selff ane king to the gryt confort off all your guid and peceable subjectis quhairby your Majestie hes procurit ane millioun off praises. Sua ceassis, fearing to be faschious, taikis my leiff in kissing

[1] She may have been the daughter or sister, or other near kinswoman, of the William Gray of Inchesture, to whom the young laird delivered 'the whole writs and letters' stolen from his father's house. (*P.C.*, vi. 233.) There appears to have been a family feud about property as well as religious differences. Birrel states that James Wood broke into his father's house, which 'sould have beine his awen.' (*Diary*, 54.) These domestic factions had public notoriety as early as 1597. (Calderwood, v. 647.)

[2] On 12 July 1601, a few weeks after the execution of James Wood, these lands were granted, upon resignation, in life-rent to Patrick Wood of Bonyntoun and to Henry Wood, his youngest son, reserving life-rent to Nicholas Wardlaw, lady of Bonyntoun, wife of Patrick. (*R.M.S.*, 12 July 1601.)

[3] kyithe=shewn.

off your Majesties handis with all humilitie, wischeing at God to continew your Majestie in lang quyet and peceable regne with incres off your Majesties awin dew kingdomes. From your Majesties awin house off Bonyton, the xxix day of Marche instant.

Your Majesties maist oblist and affectionat oratrix
NICOLAS LADY BONYTOUN.

Original, autograph signature, slits along margin, 1 p. Vol. B, 372.

CXLIII

Huntlyis letter to the king in favour of Geiht

21 October [1601].

TO THE KINGS MAJESTIE

Pleis your Majestie, this berar my cousing the young laird of Geicht hes haid monie motioners to dissuad him to enter befor the consell at this tyme, speciallie seing he is excumunicat and at the horn for not comperans befor the consell the last tyme his fathir vas chargit for ryding to the toun of Turray.[1] Yit, Sir, I have persuadit him incontrar of thir former persuasions, altogidder to conforme him self to your Majestis will, as I and all myne sall ever be, and as I find the young man him self maist villing to; and nou, Sir, sen he is enterit on my vord, and I being inducit therto be the affection I beir to your Majestis servis, that I vald have all myne lykvayis to content your Majestie, I hoip your Majestie vill schau him the gretar favour for my caus, quha never salbe onredie to performe your Majestis will: yea, gif it var againis my auin veill, yit never hoping to merit sic commandement. For the first pairt, your Majestie vill find my cousing frie of it he is in particular chargit for, becaus he never yit sau that

[1] On 18 July 1601, William Gordon, Laird of Gight, with an armed band of sons and retainers made a midnight raid upon Turriff. Particular indignities were inflicted upon an inhabitant named William Duffus. 'In end he wes schot with ane muscat with nyne bullotis in dyvers pairtis of his body; quhairby the said Williame remanis in sic danger of his lyfe as na man knawis quhat houre he sall die.' (*P.C.*, vi. 284; cf. p. 298.) Gight was at the horn for this and other strange acts of violence.

man, Mr. Jhon Hamiltoun.[1] Secondlie, quhar he is at the horn for his fathirs deid, he will set caution to abyd the lau for that caus, sua that I beleive your Majestie vill not refus him relaxation on this offir. For the third point of excommunication, he man be in your Majestis vill, hoping your Majestie vill us him na hardlier nor uthirs in the sam estait, and als mekill better as your Majestis clemencie and his fordir obediens nor uthirs givis meritis. In all uthir pointis it hes plesit your Majestie to lay to my chairge to performe,[2] I hoip to satisfie your Majestie alsveill in the end as in the beginning, that all sclanderous moins may be stopit that vald misinterprit me to your Majestie, for uther mens doings. Sua cessing to proof, my humble and affectionat servis rememberit, eftir the kissing maist humblie of your Majestis hand, I vill tak my leive, praying God to preserve your Majestie in lang lyfe and maist prosperous renye, and that He may gif sic hairt to all subjects as I beir to your Majestis servis. At Huntlye this 21 of October

Your Majestis maist humble subject and affectionat serviteur to my lyvis end

HUNTLYE.

Original, holograph, slits along margin, 2 pp. Vol. A, 353.

CXLIV

Groundis of advice to be communicat with his Majestie anent Edinburgh

[1601].

[Impertinencie of the tounes answer.] [3]

Anent the answer made be the townn of Edinburgh to

[1] On 24 October 1601, George Gordon, apparent of Gight, appeared before the King in Council at Brechin on a charge of resetting a Jesuit, Mr. John Hamilton. He denied the accusation, but was ordered to be warded, as himself an excommunicate. (*P.C.*, vi. 297-298.)

[2] On 17 October Huntly had been reprimanded by the Privy Council for 'carelessness in the execution of the laws within the bounds of his northern lieutenancy, and especially for his laxness in dealing with Gordon of Gight.' He promised to conform his conduct to the commands of the Council (*P.C.*, vi. 295-296); and appears, from this letter, to have set out immediately for his own domains to fulfil this promise.

[3] In margin.

his Majesties proposition, it is impertinent for thame to found thair refusall upon the informalitie or unlauchfulnes of our procedingis [1] for we ar to give accompt thairof to oure judge ordinar and it suld be sufficient to thame that they have oure decreit. And quhairas we have communicat to thame the hail proces it wes not to be censured of thame bot to satisfie thame the mair fullie.

[Nullitie of the ressones in thair answer.] [2]

Nixt the ressones, quhen they sal be considerit be the generall assemblie, can not be found of any force to mak our decreit invalide because 1. oure power is not onlie to try cognosce and tak ordour with anie greife or enormitie consavit be his Majestie against anie minister as they allege —quhilk indeid is the last head of our commission—bot also to plant al vacand brughis. And the places of Edinburgh vaikis not be our proces but be thair awn deid of dimission;[3] for that, trial and cognition wes not necessar. 2. The report of the mediat persones is sufficient aneugh seing they wer the maist unsuspect of the hail number that wer present and they stand to the veritie of thair report. 3. The dimission is not conditionall but absolut, contening certane petitiones to his Majestie quhilk ar lykways granted.

[1] Apparently the proceedings of the General Ecclesiastical Commission, whose 'judge ordinar' would be the General Assembly.

[2] In margin.

[3] In August 1600, Privy Council passed an act suspending and banishing the five ministers of Edinburgh who, 'mistrusting his Majestie and the undoutit treuth of this horrible treasoun, refuisit' to give public thanksgiving for the King's deliverance from the Gowrie conspirators. (*P.C.*, VI. xxv, 148-149.) This severity brought four of the sceptical preachers to the King's will, but Mr. Robert Bruce went into exile in France. The matter, however, had not been finally composed. Spottiswoode says that 'of the four, only Mr. John Hall, having given obedience, was licensed to return to his charge; the other three, upon I know not what pretext, deferred to make their declaration, as was appointed.' (iii. 96.) At the General Assembly at Burntisland in May 1601, the King was therefore still 'headstrong' to have the three recusants 'transported.' He 'sent a minassing letter to the toun counsell, with a postscript writtin with his owne hand, wherin he threatned to remove the sessioun, and remember the seventeenth day of December. So the counsell renewed their commissioun, and referred the mater to the Assemblie.' The General Assembly ordained the three ministers 'to be transported out of their owne places

And, last, it wes not necessare that we sould have communicat thair purpose of dimission to the town of Edinburgh; and gif they have omitted thair dewtie to the toun quhat hurt can thair oversight do to oure procedings? Nather is there a necessitie that they sould have communicat thairanent with the people, seing thair last dimission made in the generall assemblie at Dundie[1] wes accepted of the assemble without anie communicating therof to the town.

[Quhat to be done.] [2]

The commissionaris can do na mair be thair power nor is alreddie done seing they have declared the places vacand, ordanit the persones to be transportit to particular places and uthers to be planted in thair rowmes. Ther restis nathing bot to move the townn to do thair dewtie, quhilk nane can be hable to do but his Majestie onlie be sik meanes as his Majestie may find maist effectuall. As

[Fairnes] [2]

To deale favorablie with the principallis of the counsal and session to yeild to the persones named and to induce the rest

[Foulnes] [2]

To certifie thame gif they be obstinat and intractable

of their ministrie in Edinburgh, and planted in suche places as the commissioners deputed by this present Assemblie thinke expedient. And likewise ordeans the said commissioners to plant suche others of the ministrie in their places in the kirk of Edinburgh, as sall be found expedient.' At the same time it was agreed that the disgraced ministers might be restored 'when it sould please his Majestie and the kirk to like weill therof.' (Calderwood, vi. 119-121.) This was actually done 'almost immediately afterwards.' The editor of the Records of the Privy Council thought that perhaps the King was 'satisfied by this compliance' (*P.C.*, VI. xxxiii); he may also have felt that it was unwise to push matters any further in the teeth of such strong opposition.

[1] In 1597. They 'came in before the Assemblie, and layed down their generall ministrie at the feete of the Assemblie, to the end that the work of the divisioun of the toun in quarters might succeed.' As, however, 'tyme did not suffer the Assemblie to proceed farther in that mater,' it was agreed 'that they sould continue in their generall ministrie in Edinburgh, as before, till the divisioun in quarters, and collegues to fill the places might be had.' (Calderwood, v. 654; Spottiswoode, iii. 58.)

[2] In margin.

that his Majestie will tak it for a maist certane argument of thair misliking of his quietnes, and thairfoir that his Majestie will remove from thame his awin presence his favour counsal and session.

[Horning] [1]

To gif the toun a charge under pane of horning, makand mention that his Majestie finding the want of sufficient number of pastoris in the toun of Edinburgh to breid a great dissolution in the toun, a great boldnes in the enemies of religion to attempt thair evil purposes against the trewth and quietnes of the kingis estait etc: Thairfoir his Majestie had convenit the commissionaris of the generall assemble and tane ordour for planting of a sufficient number of godlie and learned pastoris in the said town, and the town being desyrit be his Majestie to accept of the saidis pastoris and to mak thame sufficient provision had altogether refused upon some frivolus pretendit resons. And seing it is proper to his Majesties royall authoritie to sie the lauchfull ordinance of the kirk put to dew execution and obeyed of his hail subjectis Thairfoir to charge the provest baillies consall session etc. to enter in dealing with the saidis persons vz. M. R. H., M. A. L., M. J. L. and be al lauchful meanes to move thame to accept the placis of pastoris with thair toun according to the ordinance of the commissionars of the generall assemble and to mak thame provision and suertie of sufficient stipend within the space of
days under the pane of horning and incace of faillie to denunce.

And, Sir, say it pertlie for us to his Majestie, that be the grace of God his Majestie sal never find us indifferent in his honest cause. And thairfor

fy on thame that wald persuade the contrair
And fy on thame that first leafes wthers.

[*Endorsed*] Anent the ministeris of Edinburgh 1601.

Probably a draft, $2\frac{1}{6}$ pp. Vol. A, 325.

[1] In margin.

CXLV

James VI. to [?] *Mayenne*

[July 1602.]

Our subjects and servants who have been in your parts, and also the present bearer, have assured us of your affection. We take the opportunity to thank you for the past and to beg you to continue. Since the bond of blood and inviolable friendship between your house and our crown inspires in you a desire to be at our service on all occasions, we pray you to assist the bearer, Lord Home, our ambassador, specially sent to congratulate the Most Christian King upon his escape from the treasonable attempt against his life. We exhort you to continue in your fidelity; and to count upon us, as the ambassador will inform you.

Mon trescher cousin, Comme par le fidel raport de noz subjectz et serviteurs, qui ont esté par de la, asseurance nous a esté donné de vostre affection parmy plusieurs autres envers nous, et mesme ce present porteur en a faict recit assez ample. Aussy n'avons nous pas voulu laisser passer l'occasion presente tant pour vous remercier du passé que pour vous prier d'y continuer. Et selon le grand desir qu'avez tousjours eu, pour la conjonction du sang et amitie inviolable de vostre maison a nostre couronne, d'estre employé a toutes occasions esquelles nous pourrions avoir affaire de vous, vous prions d'assister ce porteur le vicomte d'Hoome nostre ambassadeur,[1] lequel nous envoyons expres pour congratuler la delivrance de nostre trescher frer le Roy treschrestien de ceste trahison inhumaine intentée par sez subjectz ingratz contre sa personne.[2]

[1] Lord Home was expected at Berwick on 16 July 'on his journey to France.' (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 1471.) At Newcastle he met M. de Maupas du Tour, who was on his way to Scotland as resident ambassador of Henry IV. The advancing years and failing health of Elizabeth made the French King desire to re-establish political relations with the most likely successor to the English throne. (Teulet, iii. 714-715, 721-722.)

[2] The conspiracy of the Duke of Biron, a man of brilliant parts but of unscrupulous ambition. Executed in the Bastille on 31 July 1602, on a charge of treasonable trafficking with Spain and Savoy. (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, iii. 680.) Henry IV. expressed himself well pleased with James's 'gracieuses offres d'amitié et fraternité . . . mesmes contre les Espagnols et mes autres ennemies.' Home was despatched in September to return to Scotland through England. (Teulet, iii. 654.) Ralph Winwood, English resident in Paris, wrote on 15 September (O.S.) that 'My Lord *Hume* (unwilling to make a long Harvest of a little Corne in this unseasonable Weather) *at his third Access to the King did take his leave*, and departed from hence on *Monday* last. He was presented with a Jewell beset with Diamonds, wherein is wrought the *Medalia* of this King and Queen, esteemed at 7 or 800 Crowns.' (E. Sawyer, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, i. 435: London, 1725.) He crossed the Border in the middle of October. (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 1505.)

[1] Ce ne nous est peu de rejouyssance d'entendre vostre disposition fidelle envers nostre dict frere en la quelle vous prions de continuer et faire estat de tout ce qui depende de nous, comme nous avons plus au long donne charge a nostre ambassadeur de vous communiquer; au quel il vous plaira adjouster foy comme de la part de[1]

Apparently a draft, unsigned and unaddressed; in bottom left-hand corner the name *Guise* has been written and cancelled, and *Mayenne* added; ⅔ p. Vol. B, 466.

CXLVI

Huntlyis offeris to the Erle of Murray

[*c.* 1602.]

Offeris in name and behalff off my lord marqueis off Huntlie,[2] for himselff, kin, freindis and partakeris to be presentit to my lord Erle off Morray and his friendis in respect that the former offeris presentit be the Erle off Wentoun and Bischop off Ross war nocht thocht sufficient be the said Erle off Morray and his freindis bot war thocht over generall.[3]

The said Marqueis offeris to the said Erle off Morray and his freindis satisfactioun in geir, honouris and farder

[1] This last sentence has been struck out in the manuscript. It may have been considered too committal.

[2] He was created Marquis of Huntly on 17 April 1599, in celebration of the baptism of Princess Elizabeth. (*S.P.*, iv. 543.)

[3] 'Upon the 23 d. of Februar [1603], after long travell taikin by the king, the Erle of Huntley and the Erles of Murrey and Argile were reconciled, after long feed for the slaughter of the Erle of Murrey.' (Calderwood, vi. 205.) This document and the 'former offeris' mark stages in the 'long travell' towards reconciliation, which can be traced in *P.C.*, vi.

at the sicht off his Majestie, takand to him the Erle off Mar and thrie off the speciallis off the name off Stewart quhom his Majestie sall chuse be the advyse off the said Erle off Moray and his freindis, and this the Marqueis offeris becaus he estemis his Majestie and thame the maist speciall freindis that the said Erle off Morray hes, to testefie his willing mynd to satisfie in all respectis.

VINTOUN [1]
ROSS [2]
FYNDLATYR [3]
TUTTOR OFF CROMARTIE [4]

Original, autograph signatures, ⅔ p. Vol. A, 361.

[1] Robert, sixth Lord Seton, was created Earl of Winton on 16 November 1600. (*S.P.*, viii. 591.)

[2] Mr. David Lindsay, formerly minister of Leith. Towards the end of 1600, Lindsay was appointed Bishop of Ross; Peter Blackburne, Bishop of Aberdeen; George Gledstanes, Bishop of Caithness. A General Assembly at Montrose in the preceding March had recognised a limited kind of episcopacy. (*Booke of Univ. Kirk*, ii. 958-959; Calderwood, vi. 16-21; *P.C.*, vi. 94 n.) The 'actual nomination of three ministers to be diocesan Bishops was the first overt act giving effect to that agreement, and was indeed a step in advance.' (*P.C.*, vi. 165 n.)

[3] Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater? The signature is difficult.

[4] John Urquhart, Tutor of Cromarty.

Nos. CXLVII–CLII: INTRODUCTORY

THE miscellaneous nature of the documents in this section is typical of the diversity of the Warrender Papers as a whole. Their range is wide, and their appeal both literary and historic. The bibliophile and the historian, for example, will alike find food for study in the Catalogue of 'Adame Bischope of Orknayis buiks' (No. CXLVII). It is valuable both for comparative purposes and for the inherent interest of the strangely assorted and comprehensive collection of classics, Christian fathers, scientists, theologians, and romantics—works written in the Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish tongues.[1] We know the valuation put upon the Library; and that the books were consulted we can gather from the notes registering the loan of volumes. Apparently, however, such careful oversight did not long continue; for no one can now trace the dispersion and wanderings of the works that were once upon the Bishop's shelves.

'The narrative of Lord Andro Keythis infeftment of the lands of Dinguell' (No. CXLVIII) is a page out of the book of the wandering Scot, who 'throw his gude behaviour maneris wisdome and manheid in tyme of peax and weir gevin and grantit unto him be the almychtie God hes conciliat and acquirit unto him selff grite honouris and digniteis in strange and foreyne cuntreyis fer frome his awne native cuntrey and freindis.'

'The Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland' (No. CXLIX) deals with affairs in the North and in the Isles, and hints

[1] I am greatly indebted to Mr. Nicholson and Dr. Sharpe of Edinburgh University Library for their ungrudging assistance in helping to identify some of the difficult names in this catalogue.

at six hundred years of strife, from the days of the Norse Earls until after the Union of the Crowns.

For the reign of James VI. we have a new source of information in the Chronicle of Occurrents from 1596 to 1600 (No. CLII). This document, which seems to be in the nature of a supplement to the *Historie of King James the Sext*, deals somewhat circumstantially with ecclesiastical affairs and events in the Isles and on the Borders. It adds new details to our existing knowledge of important happenings, such as the relations of Lord Hamilton with the King and the Kirk in December 1596; and it gives interesting sidelights into the fortunes of Angus and Argyle, and into the enterprise of ' certen honest men of Edinburgh for the honour and peculiar commoditie of that commonwealth . . . to have a watter draught of thar awin and brewing howssis with all commoditeis.'

The document is written with the vigour of a partisan and with an eye to dramatic detail. This is seen, for example, in the account of the tumult in Edinburgh. If any one man knew the whole truth about that unfortunate uproar, he has not left an impartial record to posterity. One imagines, however, that the situation did not run so far out of hand as it suited the King to represent, because even the unfriendly pen of this chronicler declares that after the ' fond folie ' had grown to fever heat, the ' bailleis, ministers and the heidles people ' dispersed immediately at a word from the provost, ' albeit he was marvellous seik in bodie and had not cum furth of his logeing manie dayis before.' The narrative shows how the King followed up his victory both in ecclesiastical and civic matters, and how he was enriched by ' a great pecuniall sowme ' by way of fine for the ' trespas ' of the magistrates.

It is on the financial note that this fragmentary chronicle closes in the year of the Gowrie Conspiracy. As with the tumult in Edinburgh, so again James succeeded in turning

' this wicked fact ' to his own advantage. ' The gentilmen that relevit the king in his distress wer honorablie rewardit with rents pertening sumtyme to Gowrie, and all the rest of propertie and casualitie annexit to the croun.' At the end of 1600 James had some reason to congratulate himself upon the success of his policy in Church and State; but if he had had eyes to see and had been sensitive to the signs of the times, he might have perceived that the sky was not unclouded. A storm was threatened largely through his own weaknesses of character—his prodigality and debts and careless stewardship of his patrimony, his excessive love of ' pastyme ' and lack of sustained application to business. Thus our chronicle concludes with the statement that ' this yeir [1600] the king convocat his people at thre severall tymes and thre severall places to have obtened a taxation of them, whilk sould have bene perpetuall, bot it was flatlie denyit in respect he had aneugh of his awin and geve his officiers wer gude distributers therof. They offerit him sum responsall men of ther nomber who sould releve his Majestie of all dettis, sould furneish him self and posteritie honorablie in prencelie deutefull and necessarie maner, and geve him mentenance for his princelie pastyme as sould content him.'

CXLVII

The cataloge of Adame [1] Bischope of Orknayis buiks 1594 [2]

In secundo gradu maiore volumine

Galasius in Exodum.
Martinus Bucerus in Psalmos Judicum et Sophoniam.
Mart. Borrhaus in 5 libros Moysis, Josue, Judicum et Regum.
Musculus in Genesin.
Lutherus in aliquot Capita Geneseos.
Calvinus in Psalmos.
Calvinus in Esayam.
Calvinus in Minores Prophetas.
Borrhaus in Esayam et Apocalipsin.
Ecolampadius in Esayam Jeremiam Ezechaelem Job Danielem et omnes Minores Prophetas.
Brentius in Lucam.
Calvinus in omnes Epistolas.
Bullingerus in Acta et Epistolas.
Musculus in Galathas et Ephesios.

[1] Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, joined the Reformers at the Reformation, and in 1568 exchanged the temporalities of Orkney for those of Holyrood. He died on 23 August 1593. See *Bishops of Scotland*, 267-269, and note in Spottiswoode's *History*, ii. 71-80. His Library was valued at 3000 marks. See his will, dated 24 December 1608, in *Com. Edin. Testaments*, vol. 44.

[2] The scribe has been guilty of various mistakes through carelessness, or ignorance, in making this inventory. Several names have been identified from library catalogues, from Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, and Theoph. Georgi, *Europäische Bücher-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1742, with supplements). It is also interesting and helpful to compare this with other more or less contemporary inventories of libraries. See those of Clement Little and Drummond of Hawthornden, now in Edinburgh University Library; the Library of James VI. in *Miscell. of Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i.; also inventories found in Protocol Book of Thos. Johnsoun (1528-78), p. 139; Protocol Book of Gilbert Grote (1552-73), p. 20; *Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots*, Bannatyne Club, pp. 179-183, cxliii-cxlvii; *Catalogue of Bodleian Library*, ed. 1620.

Martyr super Epistolam ad Romanos.
Bullingerus in Apocalipsim.

Calvinus in qui[n]que libros Moysis.
Martyr in Samuelem.
Martyr in libros Regum.
Lavaterus in Libros Chronicorum.
Musculus in Psalmos.
Bullingerus in Esayam.
Bullingerus in Ezechielem.
Bullingerus in Danielem.
Gualterus in Minores Prophetas.
Erasmus in Novum Testamentum.
Beza in Novum Testamentum.
Gualterus in Matheum.
Gualterus in Lucam.
Gualterus in Marcum.
Gualterus in Johannem.
Gualterus in Acta Apostolorum.
Gualterus in duas Epistolas ad Corinthios.[1]

In tertio gradu

Commentaria Leonardi Fuchtii de Plantis et Stirpibus.
Commentaire de Matheolus sur Dioscorides.
Epitome Operum Galeni.
Opera chirurgica Ambrosii Pares.
Chirurgia universalis.
Tractatus medecine Suaverii.
Silvius in Hipocratis Elementa.
Luminare Maius apothecariorum.
Nicolai Prepositi Dispensatorium.
Histoire de Plantes per Ambert Dodoence.
Opera Virgiliana cum 6 comentis.

Albertus Magnus de Animalibus.
Adagia Erasmi.

[1] A *Commentarius* of Gualterus is now in Edinburgh University Library It bears the owner's inscription, *Adamus Episcopus Orcaden*, and a heraldic bookstamp on the cover.

Textus Codicis.
Textus Digestorum.
Opera Plotini Philosophi.
Opuscula Plutarchi.
Lignonii de Antiquo Jure Romanorum.
Friderici de Emenenda Reipublica.
Opera omnia Hierominy cum indice quinque voluminibus.
Opera Augustinii sex voluminibus.
Opera Johanis Chrisostomi 4 voluminibus.
Opera Bernardi uno volumine.
Opera Ambrosii uno volumine.

In primo gradu post lectum

Missale Romanum.
Summa Johanis de Turre Crimata.
Le Proprieter francoyis.
Johanis Maioris Expositiones in 4 Evangelia.
Gabriell Biell in tertium librum Sententiarum.
Johannes Liranus [1] in Tota Biblia 4 voluminibus.
Ludovici Cluthonei Compendium Veritatum.
Panoplia evangelica Lindani.
Alberti Pii Lugubrationes contra Erasmum.
Commentaria Jacobi Pares in psalmos et canticum canticorum.
Johanes Dreydonis Opinio de catalago de librorum sacre scripture.
Donisii Cartugiani super Biblia 9 voluminibus.
Pontificale Romanum.

In secundo gradu post lectum

Epistola Regis Francisci ad imperii ordines.
De jure regni Buchanani.
Thome Smetone Responsio ad Hammiltonum.
Opus Mariscaltii italice scriptum.
Queregia potestas.
Grammatica Quinquarborii.

[1] *sic.* ? Nicholaus de Lyra.

De rebus Turcarum.
Jephte Tragedia per Buchananum.
Enchiridiom, ou Manipull des Miropoles.
Duarenus de sacris ecclesie ministeriis.
Praxis rerum criminalium per Damhuderum.
De risu [? ritu] pascali Ecolampadii.
De scripture sacre certitudine per Bullingerum etc.
Institutiones Hebraice per Sanctem Pagninum.
Commentaria de arte disserendi per Rutherfurd.
Callendarium hebraicum per Ministerium.
Johanis Bodini de Magorum Demonomania.
Defencio orthodoxae fidei per Calvinum.
De occultis phamacorum potestatibus per Thomam Eraste cum Lemonicii magnis coniunctionibus.
L'art de naviguer.
Cosmographie de Piere Appian.
Johanis Vierii de Scorbuto.
Lescuerie de Frederict Grysone.
Icones virorum doctorum.
L'agriculture de Piere Estienne.
Gemme Cornelii de arte cyglonomica [*sic*].
Budei de transitu helenismi ad christianismum.
Wancell super diversis titulis juris.
Le Gueydon en francoyis.
Le 9 livre de Amades.
Agricultura Petri de Crenscentiis.
Historia Pagnini.
La mer des Croniclis.
Platina de vitis pontificum.
Alcoram mohoniticum.
Historia de Plutarcho hispanice.
Historia Imperiall y Cesaria.
Mathei Pares Historia anglica.
Flores historiarum per Matheum West monasteriensem.
Historia anglica Thome Welschingami.
Institutiones Calvini recentissime.
Rudimenta geometrica et de horologiis Mousteri.
Livre de discipline militeir.
De scribenda universitatis rerum historia per Maelium.

Quadratura circularis Orontii.
The Callender of the Scheiphirde.
Historia moscovitica Barronis.
Prosa de Petro Bembo.
Chronica Ditinarii [? Ditmar].
Wegetius de re militari.
I quatro primi libri de architectura de Petro Cataneo Senese.
Il tertio libro de Sabastiano Serlio.
Tractato de numeri de Nicolas Tertagdia [Tartaglia] 2 voluminia.
Marloratus in Esayam.
Elementa Euclides cum comentis.

In tertio gradu post lectum

Commentarius verborum juris Francisci Othomani.
Commentarius in duas Eliades Homeri per Pagninum Manuscriptus.
Poleanthea Domici Nani.
Musculi loci communes.
Bullingerus Decades quinque sermonum.
Opuscula Calvini.
Opusculorum Bezae tomus primus.
Opusculorum Bezae tomus secundus.
Opuscula Petri Vireti.
Commentaria Nicolai Hemmingii in omnes epistolas.
Gualterus in Epistolam ad Galathas.
Calvini Prelectio in Danielem.
Opera Zuinglii duobus voluminibus magnis.

In quarto gradu post lectum

Ortelii Tabule geographice.
Anatomia per Vesalium.
Livre de perspectioue de Johan Cowsing Senoys.
Theatrum scribendi historie universitatis Christophori Milonen.
Historia plantarum Thurnesceri.
Tabula ordinationis indicii sedis imperialis.

Historia Sabellici tribus voluminibus.
Loci communes Petri Martirys.
Geographia Ptolomei cum tabulis.
Concordantia Maiora Bibliae.
Defensio Petri Martyris contra inconstantium Gardenerum.
Sintagma de familiis gentium per Reinerum Reineccium.
Catalogus gloriae mundi per Cassanium.
Theatrum vitae humanae per Theodorum Zuingerum tribus magnis voluminibus.

In museo in supremo gradu

Supra ingressum ad dextram in octavo legat. cum asseribus.

Ecclesiastes Erasmi Rotherodami.
Biblia latina vulgate editionis.
Biblia parva scotica.
Cronicorum libellus per Johannem Carionem.
Pericope Evangeliorum in diebus festis sanctorum per Johannem Brentium cum eiusdem parie in Epistolas.
Pericope Evangeliorum dominicalium eiusdem.
Philipi Melanchithonis in Epistolam ad Romanos commentarius.
Postila in Evangelia dominicalia per Johannem Spergenbergium.
Postila in Epistolas dominicales per Johannem Spergenbergium.
Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum.
Postilla in Evangelia dominicalia per Erasmum Sarcerium.
Postila in Epistolas dominicales et festivales eiusdem.
Enchiridion theologicum Nicolaii Hemmingii.
Postila Evangeliorum dominicalium per Vigandum prima pars.
Eiusdem in Evangelia secunda pars.
Melanchithonis Liber de anima.
Annotationes scolasticae Luce Lossi in Evangelia dominicalia.

Eiusdem Annotationes in Epistolas dominicales et que festivis diebus doceri solent in ecclesia.
De perpetua ecclesiae Dei conservatione per Gulielmum Santphardeum cum aliis diversis.
Loci communes novissime Philippi Melanchtonis.
Catechismus Lucae Lossi.
Catalogus hereticorum cum diversis aliis.

In secundo gradu subter istos libros in quarto

Richardi Dinothi Adversaria historia digesta in centuriis etc.
The counsall or treatise of counsall of princis be Bartolomeo Philipi.
Georgie Montanetae Emblematum Centuriae.
Historia creationis per Franciscum Junium.
De educandis erudiendisque de principium liberis et de reipublica Canrado Herisbachio aucth.
Fundamenta Lutherane doctrine per Wolphium.
Metro machia per Guilielmum Fulconem.
Theorica analitica per Everardum Digbeum.
Dialogi Eusebii cosmopolite.
De Moscovitarum Russorum et Tartarorum religione.
Opera Isocratis grecolatina.
Homeri Elias latine per Laurentium Vallam.
Historia Petri Criniti.
Opera Pindari grecolatina.
Le theatre du mond per Launaiy.
Institutiones juris canonici.

Octavo

Aretii Problematum tomus primus.
Aretii Problematum tomus secundus.
Aretii Problematum tomus tertius.
Antonii Sadoell de unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio.
Eiusdem Responsio ad repetitiones Turriani.
Cardanus de subtilitate.
Cardanus de rerum varietate.

Histoire de Cherlis 8.
Institution de la religion christian et [*sic*] Jehan [1] Cargyn Cahun [*sic*].
Oeuvres de Jehan Marcoueill.
Sermonum convivalium libri tres.
Les sentences de Cicero.
Pollibius gallice.
Malleus Mallificarum 2 voluminibus.
Grammatica hebraica per Matheum Aurigallum.
Constantyne Cesar [2] de agricultura.
Biblia hebraica minora sine punctis.
Methodus juris Conradi Lagi.
Pollidorii Vergilii libri 8 de inventoribus rerum.
Colloquia maiora Erasmi.
Novum testamentum cum duabus versionibus.

In supremo gradu meridienalis numeri in museo incipiendo ad hostium

Preparatio ad crucem per Leonhardum Culmanum.
Historia Francorum Gregorii Turonici.
Ecclesiastici sive de administratione ecclesiae Dei per Franciscum Junium.
Lavaterus de spectris.
Anglorum proelia ab anno 1327 ad 1558 Christi, Occlando authore.
Sphera Johannes de Sacro Bosto.
Francisci Torraphe de origine et rebus gestis regum Hispaniae.
Eduar Henrysonis in titulos decem libri institutionum.
Eiusdem Liber pro Eguenario Barone adversus Govianum.
Agathii Guidesserii in psalmum 72, 89, 132.
Les songes deralitiques [drolatiques] de Pantagruell.
Annuli astronomici usus per diversos authores.
Les remonstrances faictes au roy Loyis XI.

[1] *rectius* Jean Calvin. *Cargyn* was perhaps rewritten *Cahun*, by clerical error for Calvin.

[2] *De Agricultura* was attributed to the Emperor Constantine (IV. or VII.) : written by Cassianus Bassus. See *Catal. des livres imprimés de la Bibl. Nat.*, vols. 24, 31.

Adolphi Mekerchi Commentarius de veteri et recta pronunciatione linguae grecae.
Le jeu pythagorique per Claude de Boisseire.
Johannes Farnelii de luis venerie cura.
Arthemetica per Gemman Friseum.
Grammatica latina greca et hebraica per Petrum Artopeum.
Ethica elementa per Philipum Melanchitonem.
Alexandri Aphrodisei problemata medica greca et latina.
Wthopia Mori scotica.
Apolythegmata Erasmi scotica.
Pedagogus Freigei.
Dialogi grecolatini Luciani selectiores.
Assertio christiane religionis contra Jesuitas.
De sanitate tuenda per Brigchton.
Elenchus hereticorum per Danaeum.
Novi orbis historia per Urbanum Calvetonum.
Johannis Viperani de rege et regno cum aliis.
Opuscula moralia per Joachimum Camerarium.
Disticha moralia.
Hercules probatius.
Imperatoris Manuelis de institutione principis cum Bellisarii opera.
6 liveres de Jehan Bodin de la reipublique.
Johanis Bodini Methodus.
Defensio Petri Martirys de celibatu.
Homiliae Bezae in Canticum Canticorum.
Epistole theologicae Theodori Bezae.
Petri Rami Dialectica.
Petri Rami Commentaria de religione.
Institutiones Calvini per Launeum.
Histoire de choses memorables faictes depues 70 anes per Laurente Furneo.
Sebastiani Foxii Mozzilli Hispalentis de regni regisque institutione libri 3.

In decimo sexto

Las Fabulas de Ysopo.
La vida de Marco Aurelio.

Johannis Bachanelli de consensu medicorum.
Enchiridion Fuchtii.
Bastiment de receptis.
Histoire des successours de Alexandre.
Oeuvres de maistre Francoyis Rableis.
Claudiani poetae opera.
Walterii maximi opera.
Il novo testamento de Gesu Christo.
Johannis Sleidani Historia.
Galeni de anathomicis administrationibus.
Amati Lusitani Centurie aliquot curationum medicinalium.
Alciaci Emblemata cum aliis.
Epistolae sacrae Novi Testamenti cum Apocalipsi.
Augustinus de gratia et libero arbitrio.
Augustinus de doctrina christiana.
Diogenes Laertius de vita et moribus philosophorum.
Lucretii poemata.
Scola Salernitana cum glossis.
Institutiones Justiniani Homeri.
Odisea grecolatina.

In supremo gradu orientali musei

Oeuvres de Clement Marot.
Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae historice libri.
Histoire de nostre temps per Guillaume Paradine.
Walerii Cordi Dispensatorum.
Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis per Johannem Campensem.
Compendium alienationum rerum ecclesiae per Rebuffium.
Pauli Jovii Historia tribus voluminibus comprehensa.
Marcelli Palingenii Liber poeticus de hominis vita etc.
Rudimenta fidei christiane sive catechisis grecolatina.
Preces sacre Davidis per Martyrem.
Summa conciliorum omnium per Bartholomeum Caranzean.
Galleni Opus de compositione medicamentorum.

Thesaurus Euonymi de remediis secretis.
Desid. Erasmi Precationes nove cum Pietationibus Savonarole.
Psalterium et precationes per Castalionem.
Wergilii Maronis Opera.
Pub. Ovidii Metamorphosion libri.
Epistole Ovidii cum libris de amore.
Liber eiusdem de festis et ceteris eius operibus.
Opera Lucani.
Opera Martialis.
Opera Horatii.
Opera Terentii.
Opera Senece tragedi.
Psalmi Buchanani.
Elegie Buchanani.
Catullus Tribullus Propertius cum Persio e[t] Juvenale.
Lingua per Erasmum.
Epistole Cyceronis familiares.
Rethorica Ciceronis ad Hirenium.
Orationum Cyceronis volumen primum.
Eiusdem volumen tertium.
Il cortegiano de Ball. Castiglione.
De officiis Ciceronis.
Eiusdem Rethoricorum.
Basilii hom. in exameron.
Enchiridion locorum communium Eckii.
Ephimerides perpetue per Antonium.
Quinti Cursii [*sic*] liber de gestis Alexandri.
Salustii Crispi Historia.
Les memoyeres de messure Philipi de Comines.
Historie de M. Nicolo Machiavelli Florentina.
Les discours de la paix de la guere de M. Nicolas Machiavelli.
Discours sur la moyen de bien governer contre Nicholas Machriavelli.
Empirica Faventini.
Fuchtius de componendis medicamentis.
Les azolines de Petro Bembo.
Commentaria Julii Cesarii [*sic*].

In secundo gradu partis orientalis musei
Vicentius Lirinensis.
Warkis in Inglis.
Ignatii Martyris Opera grecolatina.
L. Caelii Lactantii Opera.
Cypriani Opera.
Fulgentii Opera.
Wi[r]gilii Opera.
Theodoretus in Epistolas Pauli commentarius.
Bernardini Ochini Dialogi.
Paulus Deaconus.
Paulus Oroseus.
Chronologia Mercatoris.
Historia Willielmi Neubrigensis Terrae Sancte.
Historia Justini.
Epitome des chroniklis de France.
Summaire de histoiyre de Sleidan.
Therapehtica Bertolii cum Inquisitione Hispanica.
Justi Lipti de constantia.
Eiusdem Pollitica.
Dialecticon toutcheand [*sic*].
La verite de leucharist.
De ratione temporum per Bibliandrum cum aliis.
Protevangelion sive de natalibus Christi per Jacobum Minorem.
Rodolphi Gaultheri Ante Christus cum aliis eiusdem operibus.
La Bible en francoyis.
Literarum latinarum scribendi ratio.

Commentaria Oecolampadii in Matheum cum eiusdem in sermonibus.
Eiusdem commentarius in Evangelium Johannis.
Catalogus testium veritatis qui pape reluctarunt per Matheum Flactium.
Epistole Caepini secundi.
Unio decedentium [*rectius* dissidentium] locorum scripturae per Hemmanum Bodeum.
Ilium Medicini Guedonii.

Arnoldi Novi [1] commensis medeci opera.
Guidonis Cantiliaci.
Chirurgica opera.
Enchiridion poure les chirurgians per Antuen Chalmet.
Andilogia Pape per Volfgangum Vissenbergum.
Philippus Melanchton in Evangelia festiva et dominicalia.
Cilius Italicus de Bello Pumico [*sic*] cum emblematibus Sambutii.
Bullingerus contra Annabaptistas.
Julii Fermicus de errore prophanarum religionum cum emblematibus Junii.
Rethorica Ptollei et Reipublica Contareni.
Catechisis per Urbanum Rhegium.
Agrippa de vanitate scientiarum.
Lart eguidon de la guere.
Livere des demandis de Nicola Startalia [Tartaglia].
Lart emamere des symmer.
Sancta Apiphiana.
La grand cowsiniere.
Mirabilia urbis . . . reg . . . Cancellarie.
Alia regule cancel[larie].

In tertio gradu partis orientalis musei

Hieronimus Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portagaliae.
Hiperii Methodus theologicus.
Hiperii Annotationes in Esayam cum eiusdem compendio physices Aristot.
Hiperii Topica theologica.
Hiperii de ratione studendi theologiam.
Pastor per Hemingeum.
Histoire de Rolland amoureux.
Rolland furieux.
Fernelii medendi ratio.
Fernelii cetera opera.
Orlando inamorato.

[1] ? Arnaldus de Villa Nova.

Marulo de linstitutione del beate viveri.
Lhistoyre Palaedienne.
La Morale Philosophia del Doni.
La Silva de varie historie de pashi.
Lhistoria de Niceto Coniate.
Rhistrecto de lhistorie genovese.
Il Petra Relio [? Petrach] con commenti.
Historia natural de C. Plinio.
Il De Camerone de Bocalio [*sic*].

Il catichismo de Bernarde Oclino con varie suoi opuscule.
La 2 parte del prediche de Bernarde Ochino.
Vita discorsi lettere de Marco Aurelio.
Constantino Cesare de lagricultura.
Ornamenti del Doni libro medico.
Ante Marischaleio.
Arte coquinaria per M. Christofaro de Messburgo.
Didone tragedia per Ludvico Dulce.
Libro de larte militare.
Il duello del Mutio.
Lettere di Claudio Tolomei.
Constantino de le celti et utili documenti de lagricultura.
Lettere de diversi insigni homini.
Paradossi cioe sententie fuori del Comonne Pareis.
Dialogi de N. Speroni.
Sonecti et canzoni de M. Jacobo Sananzaro.
Libro de la Silva de varie licion de Peromachia.
Tomo 1 des Epistolas familiares de Anto. de Gueverra.
Tomos 2 des Episto[las] de Gueverra.
Tre volumne de novelle del Bandello.
Compendio delle historie de Neapoli per Pandolpho Colemirio jurisconsulto.
Apulegio vulgure.
Volumine altero de Gueverra.

In Camera in supremo gradu iuxta ingressum

Boetius de consolatione philosophiae.
Biblia hebraica.

Institutiones Joannis Calvini.
Commentairis of the ceveill wearis of France.
Cleonardi Grammatica greca cum scoliis et praxi Antesignani.
Relatio Theodori Bibliandri ad omnes ordines reip. Christi.
La regea de Santiago.
Erasmus de pueris liberaliter educandis cum aliis.
Doctrina moriendi cum aliis.
La grant herbier en francoyis.
Historia Britanniae per Joannem Maiorem.
Supremacie of christiane princis over all men.
Alexandri ab Alexandra opera.
Decisiones parliamenti Delphi per Guidonem Pape.
Historia Cornelii Taciti.
Historia Petri Bembi.
Martyr in priorem Epistolam ad Corinthios.
Tria voolumina juris pontificii cum glossa.
Institutiones Justiniani cum glossa.

Minore volumine in equali gradu

Commentairis of Johanne Calvine sur Josue.
Gualterus in Catholicas Epistolas Jacobi Petri Johannis.
Johanis Genetii Cordubensis opera.
Commentarie de Johanne Calvini sur lepistre aux Hebreux.
Theophilactus in quatuor Evangelia.
Idem in Epistolas Pauli.
Guilielmi Budei de asse et partibus eius.
Theophrasti Historia plantarum.
Le grand olimpeade des histoires poetiques.
Philosophie Hyeroir Vildenbergii.
La grand styll de la chancellarie de France.
Lodovii Gomesii Commentarii.
Johannis Fabii Commentaria super codice.
Allegationes domini Lapi.
Johannis Olbendorpii Varie lectiones juris.
Practica Cancellariae Romanae.
Singularia Lodovici Romani.

Silva nuptialis Johanne Nemuzano authore.
Fallentiae Batholomei Sosini [Socini].
Jeromini Canoli Comen. in titulum de Regulis juris.
Johannis Ferrarii Com. in diversos titulos juris.
Durus de regulis juris cum aliis.
Auli Gelii Noctes Atticae.
Les quatre livres d'Amadis cum aliis.

. mera post lectum.
.
. co.
. co.
. preposito super 4 decretalium.
. [d]ecretales cum eiusdem scriptis in primam partem eiusdem.
. in decretalis.
. in decretalis.
. . . . [p]ars. in ff. veteri.
Eiusdem 2 . . . super ff. veteri.
Eiusdem 2 par . . . super [In]forciato.
Eiusdem super [1] ff. Nov. . . .
Eiusdem super Co.[2] 1 pars.
Eiusdem super Co. 2 pars.
Eiusdem Repertorium.
Consiliorum Jasonis, vol. 4.
Bartalus in ff. veteri.
Bartalus super 1 parte Inforciati.
Bartalus super 2 parte Inforciati.
Bartalus super ff. novo.
Bartalus super Co. c . . . authentico.
Bartali index cum [consi]liis et aliis tractatibus.

Lucas de Penna super 1[0. 11] et 12 Co.
Index Hypoliti de Marciliis.
Alexander de Immola super ff. veteri.

[1] Probably super Digesti Novo. See *C.C.L.*, 32.
[2] Perhaps Bartolus super Codice. The *Repertorium*, which follows, may be the folio volume published at Venice in 1571. See Catalogue of National Library of Scotland.

Idem super 1. 2. et 3. Co.
Idem super ff. Inforciati.
Idem super 1. 2. et 3. par . . . ff. novi cum repertorio.
Consilia Oldradi de po . . . um consiliis Friderici de Senis.
Cuius super ff. veteri. J . . . super Co. cum indicibus.
Prima pars abbatis Panomitani [*sic*] super primum decretalium.
Eiusdem super 1. et 2. libro decretalium.
Idem super 3 parte 2 lib. et super 3 lib.
Idem super 4 et 5 decretalium.
Novelle Johannis Andre[1] . . . super 2 decretali.
Dominicus super decretum et Christophorus super Institutionibus.
Philppus Francis
Cardinalis Ostiensi
Ostiensis super 3
Consilia Abbatis Pa
Index Saliceti
Idem Salicetus in [1] 2 3.
Idem in 5. 6. 7. 8 et 9 c . . .
Tertia pars repertorii Bartalu . . .
Zarabella super Clementinis . . .
Zarabella super C[lem]entin . . .
Repertorum Antonii . . . corseto in Abbatem.
Glosa aurea Johannis Monarchi in decretalis.
Guilielmus de Cuinzio super Co.
[Pen scribblings follow.]

[*Notes on title page :*]
At Halyrudhous 9 Novembris 93.
I underscryvit borrowit of my lord four bookis in 8° volumine; to wit, the secund and thrid volum of Aretins *Problems* Saddell *Ad Repetitiones Turriani* and *De unico Christi sacrificio.*

Ita est J. KELLIE,
Minister at Quhytkirk.

[1] Apparently Joannes Andreas, Italian jurist, died 1347; his *Novella* was published at Lyons in 1550. See Catalogue of National Library of Scotland.

6 De[r] 1594. Lent to Mr. Petir Young Cicero *de oratore etc.*

[*Notes at the end :*]
9 Octob. 1593.
Resavit be me fra Henry Sandelandis at my lordis command thir buikis in laine viz Calvinus *in omnes Epistolas* Bulingerus *in Acta et Epistolas.* Be this present subscryvyt with my hand,

Mr. HENRY BLYTHE.

Thir buikis is delyverit to Mr. James Bothuell be Mr. Henry Blyth xxvj Junii 1595 scilicet Calvinus *in Epistolas* and Bulingerus *in Acta et Epistolas.* Testor

Mr. JAMES BOTHUELL.

Vol. B, 157-165[v].

CXLVIII

The narrative of Lord Andro Keythis infeftment of the lands of Dinguell

[*c.* 5 March 1583-4.]

'Our soverane lord ordanis ane charter tobe maid undir his greite seill in dew forme, makand mentioun that forsamekle as his lovitt cousing Lord Andro Keyth is cum and discendit of the blude and maist noble and ancient familie of his hienes rycht traist cousing and counsalour George Erll Marshaell[1] Lord Keyth barone of Inverrugy, and throw his gude behaviour maneris wisdome and manheid in tyme of peax and weir gevin and grantit unto him be the almychtie God hes conciliat and acquirit unto him selff grite honouris and digniteis in strange and foreyne cuntreyis fer frome his awne native cuntrey and freindis, and speciallie within the realme of Swaden be the benevilence and libertie of his hienes cousing and brother the

[1] Sir Andrew Keith was the illegitimate son of Robert Keith, brother of the fourth Earl Marischal.

king of Swaden,[1] quhairby he hes done gude service to his hienes and his subjectis, and honour and proffite unto him selff his native cuntrey and familie quhairof he is cum and discendit: thairfore his Majestie thinking the said Lord Andro is borne subject worthie of his gude favour and grace, quhome his said brother the king of Swaden hes liberallie providit and rewirdit with gude beneficeis being ane strangear unto him, for faithfull and trew service done to his hienes and his darrest mother, and for divers and sindrie gratitudis and beneficeis done be his hienes said cousing to his realme and subjectis and for gude policie to be established kepit and observit within this realme confirme to the lawis thereof and actis of parliament maid be his Hienes and his maist noble progenitouris of gude memorie, thairfore with avise of his hienes comptroller to haif gevin grantit and disponit to the said Lord Andro Keycht of Dingwell and his airis maill eftir specifeit heritablie and in feuferme respective in maner following all and sindrie his hienes landis castell manis wardis superioritie fisheingis and utheris particularlie eftirmentionat.' [These are specified in *A.P.S.*, iii. 323, and *R.M.S.*, 3 Aug. 1587.] The Lordship of Dingwall is to be held by Lord Andrew, with remainder to the lawful heirs male of his body, whom failing, to his nearest and lawful heirs male whatsoever of the surname of Keith; and is to confer the 'honour dignitie place and preeminence of ane lord of his hienes parliament.' The Castle of Dingwall is to be the principal messuage of the Lordship; and there seisine is to be taken for the whole, notwithstanding that all the possessions do not lie contiguously together.

Copy, undated, but about 5 March 1583-4, the date of the precept under the Privy Seal (vol. 50, fo. 87), based upon this signature. 2⅓ pp. Vol. B, 299.

[1] He had served the King of Sweden for eighteen years, when James VI. wrote asking that he might have leave of absence to return to Scotland. (Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 52.)

CXLIX

Abstracts from 'The Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland'

[*c.* 1031-*c.* 1620.]

Under the following heads:

First, touching the Description of Suthirland.
The conflict of Druimlea [about 1031].
The conflict of Enbo [about 1259].
The conflict of Beallegh-ne-broig [about 1299].
The conflict of Clagh-ne-herey [about 1341].
The conflict of Tuttum-tarwigh [1406].
The conflict of Loin-harpisdell [1426].
The conflict of Druim-ne-coub [1427].
The conflict called Ruoig-hanset [1437].
The conflict at Blair Tannie [about 1438].
The conflict of Blair-ne-pairk [1477].
The conflicts of Skibo and Strathfleit [about 1477].
The Cruner [Chiftane of the Clan Gun] slain by the Kaithes in the Chappell of St. Tayre [in Catteynesse, hard by Girnigo] [about 1478].
The conflict of Aldicharrishe [1487].
The skirmishe of Daill-reawigh [1516].
The conflict of Torran-Dow [1517].
The conflict of Aldinebeh [1542].
The conflict of Garwarie [about 1556].
The burning of the Cathedrall church of the dyacie of Catteynesse at Dornogh in Suthirland [1570].
The conflicts of Aldgawne and Lockmeline [1586].
Troubles in the West Iles the year 1586.
The trubles betuix Suthirland and Catteynesse the yeirs 1587, 1588, 1589 and 1590.
The trubles betuix the Earles of Huntley and Murray [1590-1597].
The troubles betuix the Gordones and the Forbesses, 1571 and 1572; formerlie heir omitted in the due place.
A tumulte in Rosse the yeir of God 1597.

The death of Sir Lauglain Macklain the yeir 1598.
Troubles in the West Iles betuix the Clan Donald and the Seill Tormot [kin of Sir Rorie Mackloyd], the yeir 1601.
The trubles betuix the Lord of Kintayle and the Laird of Clangarrie [1602].
Some trouble in the Ile of Rasey, the yeir of God 1611.
The trubles of the Lewes [1597-1620].
The Brig of Dee, formerlie omitted in the due place [1588, 1589].
The Spanish Blanks and what folowed therupon, the yeirs of God, 1592, 1593 and 1594.
Some trouble betuix Suthirland and Catteynesse, the yeir of God 1612 :

Concluding, ' All particulars betuix the houses of Suthirland and Catteynesse were finalie setled ; and then went boith of them familiarly to eithers houses ; whose perfyte reconciliation will doubtlesse tend to the peace and quyet of these parts of the kingdome.' [Cf. *Genealogy*, p. 361.]

36½ pp. Vol. B, 1.

Apparently a contemporary abstract from the MS. of Robert Gordon's *Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland* (dedicated to the Earl of Sutherland in 1630). The Warrender document has many corrections and cancellings, as if a draft. A fair copy is to be found in H.M. General Register House in *Scottish Historical Miscellanies, MS.*

CL

Historie of King James the Sext, Part I, 1566-1579

Beginning : ' 1566. KING James the Sext of Scotland was borne of his mother Quene Marie, Quene of Scotland and Dowager of France, in the castell of Edinburgh the 19 day of Junij 1566.'

Concluding : ' Lord Johne past throw all England, quyetlie accompanied of one servand onlie ; and from thence to France where he came to the towne of Paris and was courteouslie.'

A fair copy. Vol. B, 166-213v.

This is substantially the same as the printed text of *The Historie of King James the Sext*, pp. 1-175, edited for the Bannatyne Club (1826). The Warrender manuscript was known to the editor, who writes : ' In so far as can be collected from a slight examination of this copy, it does not appear to possess any superior excellence ; and for no obvious reason, it stops short abruptly, in the year 1582 ' (p. iv, and cf. footnote).

This statement, however, is inaccurate. The concluding sentence does indeed break off abruptly in an unfinished line of an unfinished page ; but the narrative belongs to the year 1579, not 1582. Moreover, although this is the end of the fair copy, it is only a part, and probably the less important part, of the Warrender annals of King James.

CLI

Historie of King James the Sext, Part II, 1593-1596

Beginning : ' Chapter 25.

In the moneth of Maij 1593, ambassadors war sent from Denmarc to demand a just rentall of Quene ANNAIS drowrie in Scotland.'

Concluding : ' The Queyne in the meyne was delyver of a ladie callit [1] Elizabeth [1], the 18 day of August 1596. [1] In the moneth of November James Stewart wha before was intitulat erle of Arran and chanciller of Scotland was killet be an James Dowglas of Torthorall, sone to George Dowglas of Parkheid, the whilk George was brother naturall to umquhile James erle of Morton Regent of Scotland.

The king, notwithstanding of the returne of the Catholic lordes never persewit thame nor cawsit to persew thame, bot rassavit Huntleis lady in court with his oldest sone. He permitted also Lodovic Duc of [Lennox] to compone with Angus for his lands, to the effect his posteritie mycht peaceablie enjoy thame. Thir maters bred sik suspicun in the harts [1] [of the ministers] '

Vol. B, 214-244.

This is apparently a draft, in a different hand from that of the earlier annalist. It is arranged in chapters from 25 to 35, and the folios are numbered consecutively 1-31. Up to f. 225v (12v of the independent numbering) there is frequent underlining in red ink. The narrative agrees on the whole with the printed *Historie* (pp. 269-373), but there are considerable

[1] In a different ink.

divergences towards the end, especially in the chronicle of Border affairs, and the movements of the Catholic Earls. There are many corrections, deletions, and marginal additions; and no proper conclusion. The first part of the last sentence, quoted above, is at the foot of folio 243v, and the words in brackets continue the sentence on folio 244, not, however, in immediate sequence, but at the end of eight lines of Latin, entitled: *De Scotia. Anno salutis humanae secundum calculum Romanum*, 1596. *Januar.* There follows a fragmentary account of the King's controversy with Mr. David Black, minister at St. Andrews.

Then, after the interpolation of two blank pages, the chronicle is resumed by repeating the paragraph beginning, 'The king, notwithstanding of the returne of the Catholic lordes.'

See following document.

CLII

A chronicle of occurrents, 1596-1600

The King notwithstanding of the returne of the Catholic lords he never persewit thayme, nor cawsit to persew thayme, bot ressavit Huntleis ladie in court with there eldest sone. He permitted also Lodovic Duc of Lennox to compone with Angus for his lands, to the effect his posteritie mycht peceablie enjoy thayme.[1] Thir maters bred sik suspicion in the harts of the ministers of Edinburgh that they fearit the decadence of thair awin estait and tharefore thay utterit manie sharp words to thair auditors in reproche of the king calling him feinzeit and having a fals hart.

In this meyne tyme thair was ane Mr. David Blak ordinar minister at Sanctandrois wha vehementlie had commovit the myndis of the people aganis the king in dyvers of his sermons whilks war all put in register be ane Mr. Johne Rutherfurde minister at Kynnowher[2] in a book severallie writtin for the nones. This book fell in the kings

[1] Cf. No. CX.

[2] Kilconquhar. Calderwood says that Rutherfurd 'purchassed his freindship in court, by calumneis forged upon Mr. David Blacke and his ministrie. He hated the faithfull servant of God, becaus he was a great eye-sore to negligent, loose, and unfaithfull ministers, of which number he was one.' (v. 647.) He was deposed from his charge in 1596 'for doing disquiet to the whole Church by the writing of an infamous and false libel

hand and was intitulat A Breif Some of Blakian Doctrine, whilk being red and considerit be his Majestie and fund full of dispyt and invy he was tharefore cetit to compeir before his Majestie and his counsall at Edinburgh in the moneth of October, and he being accusit upon certayne articlis of sedition preachit be him, he obstenatlie denyit the same, so that the king callit in sum famous men of the citie of Sanctandrois to declare what thay knew of the said Blak his doctrine lyf and conversation, and thay declarit that he sayd the devill was in the court, in the gyders of the court and in the heid of the court. Item, that he had na caus to pray for the queyne saving onlie for the fassion, for he hard na gude of hir. Item, he callit the queyne of Ingland ane atheist. Item, that he had red the kings letters in the pulpit, red the reasons thareof, discussit and repellit the same be his awin invention, calling thayme tryflis and henwylis,[1] and calling the lords of Session miscreants and brybers, calling the nobilitie degenerat godles dissemblers, ennemeis to the kirk. Item, he callit the kings counsall atheists, of na religion, holeglassis[2] cormerants. Item, that he and his associatis had convocat dyvers noble men, barrons and uthers lieges within the citie of Sanctandrois in the moneth of Junij 1594 seditiouslie to put thayme selfis in armes, devyding thayme in bands of horsemen and futemen to be under the charge of certayne captens electit be him and his associatis, usurping thareby the kings auctoritie. And he compering personallie gave not onlie contempteous and disdaynefull answeris in the kings presence, using a declinator in writ, nawayis acknaulegeing the king as soverayne lord and maister to him. And besydis all this, he sent the coppie of his declinator to the presbitereis that war narrest, desyring

. . . against David Black,' and the presbytery refused to receive him when 'the king entered in practise with the commissioners of the Generall Assemblie' to repone him in June 1597. (*Fasti*, v. 208; Calderwood, v. 647.)

[1] henwylis=stratagems.

[2] Owleglass or Holliglass=a jester or buffoon: the English rendering of the German 'Eulenspiegel.' (See *New English Dictionary*.) According to Jamieson's *Dictionary*, the word is used to denote a deceiver.

thayme to allow the same be thair subscriptions. And all in a voce concludit that the king and his counsall could naway be jugeis to his or thair doctrines in haill or in part. This mater being lang debaittit in counsall in presence of a great nomber of the moste mightie nobles and barrons of Scotland, thay fand that his Majesty and counsale war bayth jugeis and censorers of thair doctrine, and so to be estemit in all tyme cuming. Thay fand also that the said Blak had done wrang; that he had preachit seditious doctrine and was tharefore worthie of sik capitall puneishment as sould best seme the kings majesty to appoynt. Bot the king thoght n[ocht expe]dient to puneish him according to his deservings then presentlie, b[ut ordanit ?] him to be baneist to the north of Scotland far from his ordin . . .[1]

This decree of the noblis and the kings so greavit the haill nomber of the ministers and speciallie the foure of Edinburgh with manie uther impatient choleric preachers under the shaddow of zeale to cry owt incessantlie aganis his Majesteis procedings, that thay ceissit not daylie in thair sermons to calumniat the king and his counsallors be sc[l]anderous speches. And his Majesty being so far interest heirby was constranit to utter his mynd be a public edict to the people, and in the meyne tyme devulgatit sum part of the forme of thair misbehavior towart him to thair great shayme and sclander. This edict so chaffit and inflammit thair furie that thay sparit not in thair choleric sermons to rayle owt aganis the kings particular counsallors and officiers, naymlie aganis the Lord President, the Lord Secretarie, the Lord Advocat and the Lord Controllor,[2] partlie in thair faces and partlie utherwayis as thair best opportunitie servit thayme; and in the meyne tyme had introducit certayne noble men barrons and uther gentilmen within Edinburgh to assist thair seditious inter-

[1] Page torn. The decree against Black is printed in *P.C.*, v. 340.

[2] These officials are: Alexander Seton, Lord Urquhart, President of the Court of Session; John Lindsay of Menmure, Secretary; Thomas Hamilton, afterwards first Earl of Haddington, King's Advocate; James Elphinstone, Comptroller and Collector. See references in *P.C.*, v.

pryse, as also thay had subornit certayne wicked inhabiters of the toun to tak the mater in hand, and that was to kill thir foure forenaymit counsallors in the verie jugement sait of the College of Justice. And the better to effectuat this thair purpose, Mr Galter Balcanquall ane of the ordinar preachors at Edinburgh upon the 17 day of December the yeir of God (according to the Roman calcul) 1596, whilk was Fryday, he animat the barrons to follow the futsteppis of thair fathers. In his allegoricall sermon, wha war seditious zelateis of the glorie of God, sum of thayme he reprehendit wha war to slak and shew not sik curage as thair predicessors. In somme when he had said all that he wald, he desyrit the barrons and burgessis to convene in the New Kirk immediatelie eftir his benediction to heir and consult upon sik purpose as thair sould be proponit. The ministers supponit that day that the king sould not have cum to the toun, bot thay war desavit. Alwayis thay convenit all in the kirk. Thair the ministers exponit to the people the dayngerous estait of the kirk be creaping in and tollerance of the Catholic lords, how manie freyndis and craftie favorers thay had in court and counsall, and naymlie foure wicked men aforesayd (so thay naymit thayme at thair pleasure) and how the king in his person be his great tollerance and oversight was apperant to lose all the caus: and tharefore desyrit to knaw of thayme what sould be the nixt remeid. The people taking heid to the cawsis, and being stirrit up be sum seditious heids that war dispersit amang thayme for the purpose, wald not abyd further consultation, and the bailleis of the toun being na better advysit then the people, went furth with thayme in great clamer, crying with lowd voyce: Armes, armes, the hand of Gedeon:[1] and at anis thay convenit

[1] This is not the commonly accepted sequence of events. The popular tumult is generally placed at a later stage, after the King had given an unfavourable reception to the emissaries of the Kirk. See Bruce's 'Apology' in Wodrow's *Life*, 175; Moysie, 130; Spottiswoode, iii. 29; Calderwood, v. 513. Calderwood asserts that the tumult was aroused by 'a messinger of Satan, suborned by some of the cubicular courteours above-named, who wished some mischeefe to fall upon the Octavians.' The King's version of the narrative of events is printed in *P.C.*, v. 362.

at the dur of the counsalhous. This clamor without anie more went up to the counsal hous, and so effrayit his majesty with his haill counsall that thay war compellit upon the suddan to draw to thair defences, first be closing all passages, and nixt be arming thayme selfis with assistance of a great nomber of gentilmen wha war within the hous. Then the king sent owt a commissionar to knaw what the furie of the people ment, and what thay requirit. The commissioner usit his office discreitlie, and past in to the New Kirk to desyre of the ministers and thair adherents what was thair willis, and thay desyrit thre articlis. First, that the Catholic lords sould be expellit from Scotland. Secondlie, that these foure foirsaidis counsallers sould be denudit of all digneteis and offecis and expellit from his majesteis cumpanie: that foure sik uthers as thay sould nominat might cum and enter in thair places. Last of all, that this dayis interpryse sould be allowit be his majestie as acceptable godlie and thankfull service. In the meyne tyme the people cryit still at a certayne patent place of the counsalhous whare the lords do enter and seit, to geve thayme out Haman; so thay callit the Lord President. Thir foirsaidis articlis war sent to the king be certayne commissioners from the ministers, bot the king answerit he wald nawayis heir thayme in sik tumultues forme, as thay came unto him armit and gayrdit with furious people. The commissioners went bak with this answer. Then sayd Balcanquall, let ws all go to the streit and thair we sall knaw wha wilbe with ws and wha aganis us. But Mr Robert Bruce sayd, let us all first hald up our hands and mak a generall vow to God to stand be the gude caus; and so immediately the 4 ministers caist af thair gownis, and came to the great streat amang the heidles people to curage and embaulden thayme.[1] The magistrats in the

[1] Bruce himself says that he besought 'the multitude that was in the kirk . . . for silence, and to behave themselves quietly, for the regard they had to the good cause.' Then arose the uproar in the street; and 'no man could perceive the cause of the fray. We lamented it heavily, and sent for some of the magistrates; requiring them to pacify the people, as they promised to do.' (Wodrow's *Life*, 175.) Far from being the instigators of the broil, 'we saw well the advantage that the enemy would take by it, to obscure the holiness of our cause, and irritate the Prince against us; so all our care was to pacify the tumult. We report us to the commissioners that come from his Majesty . . . if all our answers tended not to have his Majesty satisfied.' (*Ibid.*, 178-179.)

meyne tyme war brawling throw the streits in armure, crying and commanding all gentilmen to reteir from the streit. This fond folie indurit a whyle till Alexander Home of North Berwick, then provost of Edinburgh, albeit he was marvelous seik in bodie and had not cum furth of his logeing manie dayis before, came to the streit with a garde of gentilmen, and thair commandit the bailleis, ministers and the heidles people to reteir hame with expedition, whilk was immediatelie obeyit. When the king and his counsall understude of this quyetnes, and whombe the mater was pacefeit he was verie glayd, and so efter sum few houris thus inclositlie spent betuix hoip and feare his majestie and his counsallers went peceablie furth of the toun to the palice of Halyruidhous, and thare thay consultit how maters sould be pacefeit.[1]

And first it was decernit that the lords of session sould be dischargeit to proceid in anie cawsis of law within Edinburgh. Thay dischargeit all uther jugeis as commissers shereffes or admiral courtis. Thay commandit all noble men and gentilmen to reteir from Edinburgh within tua houris under the payne of treason. Thay commandit all ministers to remove to thair awin parochin under the lyk payne. Then thay commandit the ministers of Edinburgh to compeir before thayme at a certayne day with sum uther tumultuous men of Edinburgh. And for the mair securitie of thair obedience and comperance, thay commandit the bailleis of Edinburgh to tak and apprehend thayme and to hald thayme sure. Bot thay did na poynt of thair office, bot sufferit the ministers to escape; notwithstanding of manie affirmations maid in thair sermons that thay sould seill thair sayings with thair blude. For this cause and disobedience thay war opinlie denoncit the kings rebels and declarit to be traitors, and the tumul-

[1] The 'ordinances in consequence of the late tumult in Edinburgh' are printed in *P.C.*, v. 350. The pages of the Register throw much light upon official proceedings after the black 17th of December.

tuous fact of that day was declarit treason be an act of counsall. Item, it was then ordanit that na benefecit person or anie man having assignation to anie stepend, that na benefite or proces of the law salbe disponit geven or grantit to anie subject of this realme of whatsumever function or degrie spirituall or temporall, or anie sufferit to bruik or posses the saidis benefecis pensions or assignations of stepends, whilk sall not be thair handwrittis and subscriptions first confes and acknaulege the kings royall powar above thayme in all cawsis of sedition and treason and in uther cevile and criminall maters, and in all spechis utterit be thayme in pulpits, scooles or utherwayis etc., and wha obeyis not the same, thair benefecis, pensions and stipends sall vaik *ipso facto*, to be disponit to uthers. And thay salbe desyrit be the kings letters within the space of 6 dayis to obey the same under the payne of rebellion.

The ministers of Edinburgh for all this war not idle, bot thay wrait to my lord Johne Hammilton as followis.

[Here follows the ' vitiated and adulterated ' copy of the letter giving an account of the tumult, and asking Hamilton to be their ' heid.' As in Calderwood, v. 516, with the addition of a clause after ' the people . . . tuik armes,' to the effect that ' unles that we had stayit thair fayrde, thay had light na doubt upon manie of the counsallers.' The Warrender copy bears five signatures: Bruce, Balcanquall, Rolloc, Balfoure, Watson.]

The king and his counsall war in the meyne whyle reterit to Lithgow, thair to convocat his nobles and uther weil-willing subjects to a counsall and for this effect wrait amang the first to Lord John Hammilton, desyring him to repayre to his majestie with his forces, that he might have his counsall. And during that same tyme that the kings messinger was thair at Hammilton the ministers messinger came also, bot nather knew of uthers erands. The kings messinger was sone depeshit with favorable answer as dewtie requyrit. The messinger for the ministers efter delyverie of this foirsaid letter desyrit a resolut answer. Bot Lord Johne howsone he had red and considerit the

same, he gave it secretlie to his secretarie to be coppeit, whilk was immediatelie done, and the principall restorit in my lords hand agayne quyetlie. The messinger was importune and still requyrit ather answer or els restitution of the letter. The lord was advysit not to consent to the letter, bot rather to obey the king, and so the mair willinglie he randrit the principall letter bak to the messinger. And within few houris the king sent another messinger bak to Hammilton desyring my lords presence in haist, whilk he dreaded, and consavit that the king had gottin sum intelligence of his preceding conferrence, for the whilk caus he poistit to the king with diligence and careit with him the coppie of that letter, whilk he immediatlie shew to his majestie, afferming that it was presentit to him immediatlie eftir his majesteis first messingers retering; and before the cuming of the second he was reddie upon his jurnay to have certefeit his majestie heirof. And withall before he gave his majestie anie licence to propone the caus of his suddan sending for, he assurit his majestie that he wald serve him and assist him in evill and gude aganis whosoever to his lyvis end, whareof his majestie thankit him courteslie, and the sight of the ministers letter was sa acceptable unto him as nothing els. Whareupon he confermit his opinion of thair preconsavit rebellion and traitorie.

The toun of Edinburgh being so destitute of his majesteis presence, of the presence of the lords of session and uthers jugeis, war advysit to send sum commissioners to Lithgow to se what way thay could pacefie his majesteis just angar; bot all was for noght, notwithstanding that thay promeist to apprehend sik as war culpable geve it sould pleas his majestie to dilate thayme, and sould puneish thayme to the death.

In the meyne tyme sum suspect persons war chargeit to enter thair persons within the castell of Edinburgh, wharin thay remanit for certayne dayis till thay war sent for to compeir at St. Johnistoun.

Then the king institute a convention to hald in St. Johniston the first day of Marche in the nixt yeir to tak

generall ordour with the stait of his realme bayth spirituall and temporall; and for this caus utterit certayne questions to be proponit and resolvit thair with this preface following.

[The text of the 'preface' is printed in Calderwood, iii. 583. He has summoned a convention of the clergy and of the temporal estates in order to draw up a definition according to the Word of God, 'of the spirituall jurisdiction asweill in application of doctrine as in the haill policie and governement of the hous of God.' In preparation for the convention he has sent out a set of questions for consideration beforehand, and asserts that his sole object is to clear up matters of controversy, to weed out corruptions, and to establish 'a pleasant harmonie and mutuall concurrence' between the King and the Kirk.

Then follows a list of fifty-five 'questions to be resolvit at the Convention of the Estaits and Generall Assemblie appoyntit to be at the burgh of Perth the last day of Februar nixt.' (See Calderwood, v. 585; Spottiswoode, iii. 43.) These were questions 'as to the relative jurisdictions of the Kirk and the Civil Power.' (*P.C.*, v. 367 n.; cf. Tytler, ix. 226-227.)]

The queyne of Ingland being fullie certefeit of all thir contrarious procedings be hir ambassador resident in Scotland, she thoght gude to wryt to his majestie in maner following. [Her letter is printed in Spottiswoode, iii. 38; Calderwood, v. 551. She expostulates with James that it is untimely to repress the Kirk at the very moment when the Catholic Lords have been allowed to return and are in hope of foreign support in the summer season. Let him beware lest he harm himself in ruining the Kirk. With all their faults, the ministers depend on him as their only 'sure ankarage,' whereas the Catholic lords have other support and their petitions for foreign aid endanger the safety of the king and the realm.]

Be this letter may eselie [be] persavit be the reader how small an opinion she had of his majesteis constancie ather to the Catholic or Protestant. And althoght the ministers sat in ease and had all that thay wolde or coulde procure at the kings hand, yit unles the king wald do also all sik

things as came in thair thoght thay could naway be contentit, as may weill appeare be the preceiding narrative. Wharefore sum wyse man moovit with zeale to his commonweill, persaving sik enormitie on thair part wha sould have bene lanterns of light to the flock of Christien men, gave this counsall following in writ to the kings awin hand, whilk was verie acceptable for that present tyme.

[Twenty-one lines follow in Latin verse, beginning *Jacobe Rex si pace vis frui tuta.* Exhorting the King, if he wished to retain his sceptre in peace, and to make his life more safe in future and free from new crises, to root out the monsters of faction, and the wasps who stir up the populace to tumult by their irreverent tongue and pert bearing. Let him not fear to cure this gangrene with fire and sword, lest if it insinuate itself farther, no remedy be possible.]

In the begynning of the moneth of Marche a convention of all estaits was haldin at St. Johniston.[1] Bot the questions foirsaidis war not disputit upon in generall. Onlie tua things war thair intreatit upon. Ane was, be reason that the magistrats of Edinburgh had tryit na malefactors, nather had puneist sik as the king thogt had done wrang, tharefore the provost bailleis and counsall war cetit to compeir thair before his majestie and counsall to answer etc. And being thair personallie present a great nomber, yea all saving one, and thair naymes red and that one man fund absent,[2] thair comperance was fundin be the counsall naughtie and unperfyt, and tharefore the haill rest war decernit the kingis rebellis, and within few dayis tharefter they war within thair awin bowellis of Edinburgh denoncit rebellis to his majestie be oppin proclamation. Thair common gude was arreistit to pertene to the king. The magistrats and thair under officiers denudit thayme selfis of function, and the lawis of the burgh war cassin lows. Bot yit upon hoip of redres it pleasit God so to governe the

[1] See *A.P.S.*, iv. 109-117.

[2] William Mauld, 'who was absent by virtue of the King's letter of dispensation granted to that effect' but found 'not to be sufficient warrant.' (*P.C.*, v. 370.) Calderwood says that 'Mr. Johne Lindsey devised this trick . . . that the toun might be brought within compasse of some law and danger.' (Calderwood, v. 624.)

hartis of the people that na thing was done amiss. And the cheif magistrats sa wroght with the king and his previe courteors in the meyne tyme that the mater came under a new talking and thay became in the kings will insafar that thay confessit the cryme of treason and payit a great pecuniall sowme for thair trespas.[1] Bot the king reservit action aganis the ministers and sum uther suspect persons wha before war keapit in preason for that fact.

The uther matter treatit upon in St. Johniston was concerning the preachings and applications of ministers. Thair it was consentit voitit and subscryvit be thayme all that it was not the dewtie of a minister to fynd ather generall or particular fault with anie auditor publiklie unles that first according to the command of the scripture he admoneish him as efferis : far les of the king and his counsallors *et sic de caeteris*.

Thair also it was concludit be advyce and consent of the ministers that na minister or preacher at anie capitall toun within Scotland sould be electit but speciall advyce and consent of the king and his counsall. Bot this mater was sumthing mair narrolie tryit tharefter be a synodall assemblie of ministers convenit at Leyth in the moneth of Aprile,[2] so that Mr David Lyndesay then minister of Leyth, being moderator at the convention of St. Johniston before, wes fundin be thayme to have done wrang first to have bene moderator thair besyd the generall consent of the kirk and last of all to have bene the author to procure sik thraldom to the kirk, whilk nather emperor or king ever soght before. For this caus he was censurit moderatlie according to thair corruptit ordour.

In the meyne tyme the ministers of Edinburgh being fugetevis in Ingland, and finding na thing in that cuntrie bot scorne and mockerie aganis thair proceidings thoght maist expedient to reteir hayme, whare evill childer ar best

[1] 20,000 marks. (*P.C.*, v. 374.) The submission of the magistrates was accepted by the King on 21 March. See, also, the references to the tumult, and the subsequent negotiations and submission of the town in *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1589-1603.

[2] On 5 April. (Calderwood, v, 625.)

hard ; and heir be craftie intercession of sum of thair awin faction thay war counsallit to postrat thayme selfis at the kings feit to cry *Peccavi* ; and this thay did about the 20 day of the moneth of Aprile, and upon the 22 day thay war relaxit from the proces of horning *simpliciter*.

And as the king was thus evill servit be his domestic subjectis as ye have now laitlie hard, so was he also be those that duelt far of, as I have writtin in another passage lang before of an Angus Makoneill lord of Kintyre.[1] This Anguss had not onlie behavit him self unthankfull to his lord and king but also unnaturall to his awin kynnismen and nychtbors in Scotland and Ireland, in the whilk cuntrie of Ireland he had sum kynnismen that inhabetit these landis, and amang the rest an James Makoneill his cusing germayne : for the whilk caus the said James maid an expres vayage in Scotland first to complayne of certayne injureis that he had ressavit at the hands of Anguss his cusing without anie injurie or wrang done be him ather afore or sensyne ; and nixt to afferme that the said Angus was a bastard unlaughfull sone, and him self was the onlie laughfull sone of a laughfull brother and narrest in tailze to thais lands occupyit be Angus in Scotland, as he wald prove be his just genealogie and be the lawis of the realme. And tharefore he sent his messinger to the king desyring his majestie that he mycht have presence and audience to justifie his awin caus be rycht and reason, and that geve it mycht be fundin that he was mair laughfull and had more just rycht then Angus had, that he mycht be ressavit as the kings vassall to pay him a competent rent and homage anis in the yeir as efferit ; and in so doing geve it wald pleas the king to accept him as his vassall he sould also acknaulege the lands occupyit be him in Ireland to be haldin of the king and his successors aganis all uthers, bot

[1] Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg. His ' cusing germayne ' is Sir James Macdonald of Dunluce. Gregory writes that ' Dunluce readily accepted an invitation to visit the Court of Scotland ; and he and his train, on their arrival at Edinburgh, were received with great distinction.' He failed to vindicate his claim to the estates of his cousin, but received some compensation in honour and lands. (*History of Western Highlands and Islands*, 273-274.)

sould also procure sindrie great men of that cuntrie to do the lyk. He came to Edinburgh the 22 day of Aprile, the king being then present. Bot how he proceidit and what effect his mater tuik salbe declarit in the awin place.

Becaus of manie incursions tending to spoyle and reif whilk was committit *hinc inde* betuix Ingland and Scotland and complaynts maid on ather syd, whilk greavit the princis of both the realmes, it was thoght convenient that commissioners sould be sent to the borders that be thair wisdomes and arbitrement maters of controversie sould be so componit that peax mycht ensew. Bot the bordorers of Ingland ceissit not for all this to enter in Scotland furioslie and wranguslie, and in dyverse parts to commit bayth reif and shed innocent mennis blude, besyd the unlaughfull leading away of preasoners, wha na way had offendit aganis the common peax. And the subjectis of Scotland being so violentlie delt withall, complenit to thair wardens, wha immediatlie soght remeid be the lyk maner as thay war offendit. And last of all Sir Walter Scot lord of Liddisdaill, be reason of an of his vassals callit Martine Ellot wha laitlie befor had ressavit skayth be the incursions of Inglish rubbers of Tyndaill and Riddisdaill convenit certayne valiant men and rode in thais quarters of Ingland, whare he not onlie with strang hand recoverit alsmanie guds as war stollin and reft from Scotland bot also sum uther guds of the malefactors. And samonie of thayme as he could apprehend, he pat sum to death be walter and sum be sword to the nomber of 36 persons, as also he brynt sum howsis in Ingland whare he suspectit sum of the malefactors to mak residence.[1]

Of this incursion aganis Ingland and fyre raising the queyne of Ingland compleynit to the king be hir ambassador M^r^ Bowes, bot when the lord of Liddisdaill understude thareof he came to the king and so justefeit his awin caus that his majestie was apperantlie then weill pleasit. Tharefter the queyne sent another commissioner in Scotland, one Sir William Bowes knycht to compleyne of the

[1] This expedition was made on Sunday, 17 April 1597. (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 596.)

lord of Liddisdaill and of Sir Robert Ker, and to desyre that thay bayth mycht be randrit in Ingland, bott the counsall fand that nayne of thayme had done wrang and tharefore the petition was not grantit unto.[1]

At the tent day of Maij 1597 the king with his noblis and certayne men of the kirk convenit at Dundee to consult upon the articlis before spokin. Thair the ministers of Edinburgh war ressavit to peax, notwithstanding of the former cryme. Few of the articlis war callit in question except sum principals that tendit to the kings supreme powar and derogation of the kirkis prevelegis. The Catholic lords war also ressavit to the kings peax upon condition that thay sould satisfie the kirk. And in the moneth of August the erle of Angus peax was proclamit in Edinburgh with sound of trumpet, the same to indure for the space of foure yearis allanerlie.

The queyne of Ingland compleynit agayne of the lord of Liddisdaill for invasion of hir realme be fyre and sworde. Then the generall maters of the borders war intreatit upon; commissioners be consent and election of bayth the realmis war chosin to meat at all partis competent. In the end thay thoght expedient that Inglish pledges sould be delyverit in Scotland and Scottish pledges delyverit in Ingland, not onlie for pacefeing of tumultis for all tyme to cum, bot also that the pledges sould remayne till redres sould be had of all parteis. For this caus the wardens war summonit to compeir. The lord of Liddisdaill and Sir James Johneston warden of the west mearches war ordanit to exhebite certayne men before the kings majestie and his counsall bot becaus thay could not then obtene thayme thay war bayth incarcerat in the castell of Edinburgh. The lord of Liddisdaill within a certayne tyme was lettin to libertie upon hoip to recover his pledges bot was frustrat. Then his majestie delt with him to enter him self in Ingland, whilk he did in the moneth of October 1597. Johneston was also lettin lowse, bot he returnit

[1] Cf. *Border Papers*, ii. no. 627. These Papers give the fullest documentary information about the Border events of this period. See also references in *P.C.*, v.

agayne to preason within the castell of Edinburgh, whare he remaynit still, till his freynds broght in sik pledges as the king and counsall war contentit withall. Bot the king not yit contentit of this maid jurnay him self towart the waste bordors. He rayd throw all the cuntrie and cawsit perforce all sik men be delyverit unto him as he was informit that trublit be robberie and slawghter the common peax of ather Scotland or Ingland, and to bak this purpose the better he cawsit certayne horse men to be still reddie at all eventuris of disobedience round about thair wicked men that thay sould escaip no way. And the officier of that quarter of Ingland, callit Mr Leye,[1] maid gude correspondance for his part. He came to the king within the bounds of Scotland and offerit all dewtie of his part, whilk was thankfullie ressavit, sa that he departit with great joy and contentation of mynd.

During the lord of Liddisdaillis remayning in Ingland at Berwick, that people under cullor of gude treatment and welcomming of sik an honorable straynger thay sufferit a villayne to assaile him with the shot of a pistol, and the same unpuneist. And for all the gude ordor and severe puneishment of malefactors that the king maid at hayme, it pleasit the counsall of Ingland to delyver na sik competent pledges in Scotland as we maid to thayme. [2] Sir Robert Ker entrit Ingland in the moneth of Februar of the nixt yeir and Bacleugh came hayme.[2]

In the moneth of December a parliament held in Edinburgh [3] for behuf of the Catholic lords to restore thayme to all digneteis, honors, rents, possessions, and peax in sik sort that the mater and purpose wharefore thay war proscript was disallowit and in a maner not fund relevant. And althoght this forme was fundin be sum most curious headis to seme best for thayme, yet for all that were thay constraynit to accept there peax be the kings favour and remit, as an act maid be advyce of the thre estaits dois testefie.

[1] Henry Leigh, or Lee. His conference with King James took place at Newbie in November 1597. (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 844.)

[2] In margin.

[3] *A.P.S.*, iv. 123 ff.

At this parliament becaus the ministers of Edinburgh and certayne uthers wha wald have opposit thayme selfis heirunto were then pacefeit, as I have sayed, thare was then the les[1] impediment maid heirunto, whareby the king and the Lord President maid thair oraisons, how dyverse noble subjects of great kingdomes and dominions of auld had bene banishit thair native cuntreis and yet for dyverse great respects callit hayme agayne, as Cleomenes and uthers.

At this parliament the king proponit to his estatis his proximitie to the croun of Ingland, that the queyne of that realme was eagit, impotent and waik, and tharefore it was necessar for him to imploy ambassadors to all his allias, forayne prencis and confederats to the end that he mycht sollicite thayme to stand his freynds for this his urgent necessitie to atteyne his rycht to the croun of Ingland, to requyre thayme to send thare ambassadors to Ingland to procure the graunt of the same be a declarator of the queynis mowth be consent of hir estaits, and incace this war refusit that it wauld please thayme to remember that geve the queyne sould decease without anie nomination of a successor at all or of sum in speciall, that then upon his requisition upon sik articlis as sould be condiscendit on thay sould assist him with thair armeis to estableish that kingdome to him and his laughfull successors. And for this effect he desyrit his estaitis to graunt him a taxation to furneis the expenssis of these ambassadors, whilk thay willinglie graunted unto. And the sowme availlit to tua hundreth thousand markis money of Scotland, as an act of parliament maid tharupon mair fullelie proportis.[2]

The Duc of Holst brother germain to Queene Anne came secretlie in Scotland in the end of his peregrination throw Almaine, Fraunce and Ingland. Bot his cuming was sone disclosit, and was honorablie ressavit in Edinburgh be the magistrats and tharefter be the queyne his sister, and last of all be the king wha was then abrod [3] for certayne

[1] Altered from *last*.

[2] *A.P.S.*, iv. 142; Moysie, 136.

[3] At Dundee. (Moysie, 137.) The Duke of Holstein arrived in March, and departed from Leith on 3 June. (Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 297; Birrel's *Diarey*, p. 46.)

dayis. And all the tyme of his remayning was bestowit upon feasting, bancating and pastyme of playis and uther bodelie exercesis on fute and hors. And at last the king and queyne gave him costlie giftis, sent him hayme to Denemarx accumpaneit honorablie with gentilmen of gude account, to ather of whom his majestie gave a reasonable viaticum, for thair going and returne.

The king efter all his obedience maid to Ingland in delyverie of his tua wardens as said is, tuik great paynis to pacefie all border quarrels at hayme, and in particular for this effect he raid him self in person, and tharefter establist the Lord Ochiltrie his lieutenent generall,[1] and gave him sufficient mentenance, and compellit Johneston and Drumlanrig to tak assurance whilk lastit not lang, for Johneston brak on his part. And being compleynit upon he was cetit to compeir before the king and his counsall at a certayne day in the latter end of Maij 1598, bot he comperit not, and tharefore it was decernit be the counsall that he sould be hangit in effigie be the heillis at the mercat place of Edinburgh; and thare an oppin declarator be heraldis and trumpets maid of his perfidie and falset. It was writtin at his heid *Johnestoun*. His handis war payntit bludie; and at his heillis writtin: *For perfidie and perjurie*.[2] Johnestoun, to mak his mater seme the mair honest, he wrait his cartels to Drumlanrig, avowing these narratives to be fals, and that he wald feght in the quarrell.

1598. Upon the 25 day of Februar in the nixt yeir, betuix nyne and ten houris in the morning ther appearit a great and dark eclipse of the sonne for the space of half an hour.

In Apryle certen honest men of Edinburgh for the honour and peculiar commoditie of that commonwealth, and to

[1] Ochiltree was given a commission of lieutenancy in the West March on 28 November 1597. (*P.C.*, v. 424.)

[2] Sir James Johnston of Dunskellie was denounced rebel on 1 June for non-compearance, but the Privy Council records have no mention of the hanging of his effigy. (*P.C.*, v. 458.) Sir William Bowes refers to the incident in a report to Burghley, and dates it as 27 May (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 946, p. 538), and it is also mentioned in Birrel's *Diarey*, p. 46, and Fraser's *Annandale Book*, i. cxxxiii.

debarre the exceiding commoditie that strayngers of nighbour villageis did withdraw from that toun to them selfis, thoght expedient to have a watter draught of thar awin and brewing howssis with all commoditeis effearing therto, and to serve the citizens at ther awin durris with als sufficient stuff and greater opportunitie then forenners might or could do, did contract with the magistrats for the tyme what dewtie ather partie sould performe to uthers, and so the watter draught was begun that moneth. The burrow loch was lettin owt at the north west end, dryit and becum medow, a watter myln biggit and fayre brewing howsis within the toun.[1]

This yeir also certen gentilmen of Fyff contracted with the kingis majestie that for the Ile of the Lewis they sould geve him yeirlie great quantitie of victuals for sustentation of his hous, with a remit of the first foure yearis till they sould upon ther awin expenssis mak the same peceable.[2]

The 24 of December the queyne broght to bed of a second daughter callit Ladie Margaret, wha also deceassit in the moneth of August 1600.

1599. In the moneth of Mearche the erle of Huntlie and the lord Hammilton war erected to marqueisis.

Sir Williem Bowes, ambassador for hir majestie, used a slight strategeme be exposing sum of his craftie gentilmen to beare cumpanie with an Inglish gentilman of account[3] whom the king favorit for certen secret occasinis betuix

[1] 'At the end of the sixteenth century, there was established in Edinburgh under the auspices of the Town Council a public company for the manufacture of beer on a large scale. This was the first commercial public company to be incorporated in Scotland. . . . Its operations extended over the Burgh Loch, Bruntsfield Links, and several portions of the South Muir.' (W. Moir Bryce, *The Burgh Muir of Edinburgh*, section xv. 'Fellowship and Society of Brewers,' p. 227; *Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1589-1603, pp. 187, 191.)

[2] For the plantation of Lewis, see *A.P.S.*, iv. 138, 175, and *ad indices*; *P.C.*, v. *ad indices*; Tytler, ix. 253; Gregory, *History of Western Isles*, 276 *et seq.*

[3] Edmund Ashfield. He was suspected of being 'one of those confidential agents whom James had employed in England to give him secret advice and information on the subject of his succession to the English throne, after the death of the queen.' Bowes and other English officials, fearing 'treachery against England . . . determined to destroy it in the

them and heistit the man a cosh,[1] maid haistie depesh of him touart Ingland, for the whilk his majestie was exceiding angrie; and therfore causit the lodging of the said ambassador to be ombeset at all partis least he sould escape. Bot that mater was sone pacefeit.

1600. *Anno* 1600 Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, lord warden of the waste mearchis of Scotland was slayne be Armestrangis and uther libertine slaves on the bordour and that in the moneth of Julij.[2]

The kirk maters went hard with sum part of the members therof, for these of the sowth had na will of reull or ordour and therfor these of the north condiscendit to bishops, whilk was enacted in a generall assemblie haldin at Edinburgh.

Upon the 5 of August the erle of Gowrie and his brother Alexander conspyrit secretlie the kingis majesteis death, and for the better performing ther intent they inveited him from Falkland to St. Johnistoun. Bot as the intention was wicked so had it als evil success, for his majestie was saif and they both slayne in ther awin devyce. Heireftir his majestie sent word to the provost and bailleis of Edinburgh declaring the mater at lenth and willing them therfore to caus ther ministers to congratulat the same with thankisgeving to God and reproche of the ennemie. Bot they being called in for this effect, sum of them refused and uthers accepted. The recusants wer baneished for ther paynis and Mr Robert Bruce, on of them wha nather wald acknaulege the kingis delyverie nor yit accuse the traitors, was baneished from Scotland.[3] Mr James Balfour, Mr Walter Balcanquall and Mr Wm. Watson wer displaced

bud, by kidnapping the principal party.' It was contrived 'that the ambassador's coach should be waiting on Leith sands, and that Ashfield, under pretence of taking a pleasure drive, should be inveigled into it, and carried off. All succeeded to a wish.' This incident happened in June 1599, and led to the recall of Bowes. (Tytler, ix. 264-266.)

[1] cosh=coach.

[2] On 16 June [not July], 'about two of the cloke,' while riding from Annan to Langholm. (*Border Papers*, ii. no. 1183.)

[3] He went to France and then to London. For Bruce's attitude to the Gowrie conspiracy, see Wodrow's *Life*; Calderwood; Spottiswoode.

from ther functions of Edinburgh, and Mr Johne Hall wha was bot laitlie admitted to that rowme was remitted for his errour becaus it was onlie his first fault, and the rest wer also culpable of that capitall cryme committed on the 17 day of December afore mentionat. And becaus this fact and delyverie was done upon a Tyisday his majestie vowit that all the Tyisdays of the yeir sould be celebrat be him as a day of thankisgeving to God, and willit all his people to do the same be assistance of ther ministers, as he sould be a gude justicier and a meak prence unto them, sould geve eare to the meynnest alsueill as to the greatest complaynts, and sould remit no giltie persons in tyme cuming. The bodeis of thir traitors wer embawmed and broght to Edinburgh wher they wer convict at a parliament haldin ther for the same effect in the moneth of November. Ther lands annexit to the croun, and sum of them gevin in gift to the speciall persons that relevit his majestie fram the daynger. Ther bodeis wer hangit at the mercat croce of Edinburgh and therefter demembrit, and careit to Sterling Dundie and St. Johniston. The hous wherin this wicked fact sould have bene done decernit to be rased to the ground, and a pyramid set up in place therof declaring the caus, and all man bearing the nayme of Ruthven ather sould depart the cuntrie, or ellis chaynge ther surnaymis under the payne of treason. At this parliament wer manie noblis convenit, especiallie the marquesis of Huntlie and Hamilton: and his majestie fearing least Anguss sould stryve for state he wroght with him to be contented that these two sould be preferred unto him, whilk he constantlie refused, and therfore he and all his freynds and defenders wer chargit under payne of treason to reteir from Edinburgh during his majesteis will. The erle of Argyle[1] was evin then now cum home from Italie,

[1] Argyle was abroad in August 1599. (Tytler, ix. 277.) John Colville presented his tract *The Palinod* to Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, in the presence of the Earls of Argyle and Crawford. See Preface to *Palinod* in *Colville's Letters*, cf. pp. xxvii-xxix. Colville wrote this work with the aim of ingratiating himself in the King's favour by vindicating his right of succession to the English throne.

bot the king wald not suffer him to remayne at the parliament, fearing least he sould also mak tumult aganis Huntlie for whose caus he was baneist, as I have tauld afore. And thus the parliament was peceablie begun and endit for this tyme till the second day of Mearche nixttocum. The gentilmen that relevit the king in his distress wer honorablie rewardit with rentis pertening sumtyme to Gowrie, and all the rest of propertie and casualitie annexit to the croun. This parliament being endit Robert Lord Seyton was creat be his majestie Erle of Wigtoun[1] and Sir Robert Ker of Cesfurde knycht was creat lord of Roxburgh.

1600. This yeir the king convocat his people at thre severall tymes and thre severall places to have obtened a taxation of them, whilk sould have bene perpetuall, bot it was flatlie denyit in respect he had aneugh of his awin and geve his officiers wer gude distributers therof. They offerit him sum responsall men of ther nomber who sould releve his Majestie of all dettis, sould furneish him self and posteritie honorablie in prencelie deutefull and necessarie maner, and geve him mentenance for his princelie pastyme as sould content him.[2]

The 19 of November the queyne bure another sone.[3]

Vol. B, 245. 20 pp.; fragmentary; begins on folio marked 32 and runs uninterruptedly to fo. 41. Fos. 42 and 43 have been bound out of place, being inserted immediately before 32. Fo. 42 has only one line of writing, and 43 is entirely blank. The pagination of this chronicle runs on consecutively from that of the second part of the *Historie of King James the Sext*. This MS. takes up the story where the printed *Historie* becomes scrappy and inadequate, and is apparently a continuation or supplement of it. The final paragraph of fo. 31 is repeated as the first paragraph of fo. 32, and the two pieces are in the same hand.

[1] *rectius* Winton: cf. p. 392, n. 1.

[2] *P.C.*, vi. 121 n.-122 n. The question of a tax had come up in a convention at Edinburgh in December 1599, at Perth in March 1600, and at Edinburgh in June. See also Tytler, ix. 285-288.

[3] Afterwards King Charles I.

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Firmicus (Fermicus), Julius, 408.
Flacium (Flactium), Matthew, 407.
Fox Morzillo (Foxius Mozzillus), Sebastian, 404.
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Freigeus (Johannes Thomas), 404.
Fridericus, 398.
Fuchs (Fuchtius), Leonard, 397, 405, 406.
Fulgentius, Saint, 407.
Fulke (Fulco), William, 402.
Furneo, Laurence, 404.

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Galenus, Claudius, 397, 405.
Gellius, Aulus, 411.
Gemma, Cornelius, 399.
Gemma [Reinerus], called Frisius, 404.
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Gryson, Frederick, 399.
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REPORT OF THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on Saturday, 5th December 1931, in Dowell's Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh,—Mr. John Buchan, M.P., LL.D., President of the Society, in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

During the past year 19 members have been enrolled and 25 have resigned or died. The membership, including libraries, is now 631, as compared with 637 last year. Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to become a subscribing member, and the Council trust that Her Majesty's active interest in the work of the Society will stimulate the members to further efforts to increase the roll.

Since the last Annual Meeting, *The Minutes of the Justices of the Peace for Lanarkshire, 1707-1723*, has been issued as the second volume for the year 1929-1930. The thanks of the Society are due to Dr. C. A. Malcolm for his work. As announced in last year's Report, it was decided that there should be only one volume for the year 1930-1931. *The Warrender Papers*, Vol. I., edited by Dr. Annie I. Cameron, with an introduction by Principal Robert S. Rait, is in the press, and will appear shortly.

For the year 1931-1932 it is proposed to issue the second volume of *The Warrender Papers*, which will contain letters and

documents of even greater interest than the first. This will be the hundredth volume published by the Society. The other issue for the year will probably be *Diplomatic Papers Illustrative of the Flodden Period*, to be edited by Dr. Marguerite Wood, Keeper of the Burgh Records, Edinburgh. These papers considerably modify the generally accepted view of the policy of James IV., which is based mainly on English sources. It has therefore been decided to treat the subject more fully by including documents between 1513 and 1517, and to publish the whole collection separately instead of in *Miscellany Volume V.*, which is postponed for another year.

To the list of volumes announced as in preparation, there has been added 'Scottish Petitions to Rome, 1418-1421,' from the originals in the Vatican, to be edited by the Rev. E. R. Lindsay and Dr. Annie I. Cameron. These petitions throw much light on Scottish affairs during a crisis in ecclesiastical history and constitute a new source for a little-known period of our national story. Materials are also being collected for a sixth 'Miscellany Volume.' These include, at present, 'The Charters of the Priory of Inchcolm,' to be edited by Mr. Hunter Marshall, certain Jacobite documents in the Archives of Avignon, by Miss Henrietta Tayler, and Jacobite Correspondence, by Sir Bruce Seton, Bt.

The Council have decided to postpone further consideration of the General Index to the Society's publications.

The Council record with regret the death of their colleague, Dr. Hay Fleming. An original member of the Society, he was Secretary from 1905 to 1908, and edited for the Society *The Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, 1559-1600*, published in 1888 and 1889, and *Johnston of Wariston's Diary, 1650-1654*, and 'The Scottish Contributions to the Distressed Church of France, 1622,' in *Miscellany Volume III.*, in 1919. His contributions to the history of Mary Queen of Scots, the

Reformation, and the Covenanters, characterised by fastidious accuracy and command of the sources, carried his name throughout the English-speaking world, and brought honour to the Society with which he was so intimately connected. A keen controversialist, he was distinguished in private life by the genial and friendly help he extended to his fellow-workers, especially the younger scholars, in his chosen fields of study. The Council also regret the death of Sir James Balfour Paul, K.C.V.O., LL.D., whose many services to the Society were gratefully acknowledged in last year's Report.

Owing to pressure of other work, Dr. Henry W. Meikle has been compelled to resign the Secretaryship. Dr. Meikle has held this office for the past three and a half years, and during the whole of that period he has given unremitting attention to its duties, to the discharge of which he brought the benefit of his wide and accurate knowledge of Scottish history and his sound critical judgment. The Council congratulate Dr. Meikle, and they also congratulate the National Library of Scotland upon Dr. Meikle's promotion to the office of Librarian. The Council propose Mr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, M.A., Lecturer in History, University of Edinburgh, as his successor in the Secretaryship. The members of Council retiring by rotation are Mr. Inglis and Professor Hannay. It is recommended that they be re-elected, and that Dr. Meikle take the place of the late Dr. Hay Fleming.

The question of an increase in the staff of the Historical Department of H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, in order to render the national records more easily accessible to students, was discussed at a conference with the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland last summer. The views of the Society were stated by Lord Sands, Chairman of the Council.

The accounts, appended in abstract, show a credit balance of £810, 16s. 9d. on 4th November 1931.

Lord Sands moved the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by Principal Rait.

The President, in supporting the motion, referred first to the volume of *Warrender Papers* published by the Society for 1930-1931, relating the story of the loss and discovery of the MSS., and proceeded to draw attention to the following works on Scottish History :—Dr. Marguerite Wood's *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604-1626*; Major Duncan Warrand's *More Culloden Papers*; Dr. W. Mackay Mackenzie's *Secret of Flodden*; the second edition of Mr. D. N. Mackay's *Appin Murder*; Miss M. E. Gray's *Scottish Periodical Press, 1750-1789*; Miss I. F. Grant's *Everyday Life in Old Scotland*; and Dr. MacLehose's *Glasgow University Press, 1638-1931.*

Mr. Buchan went on to discuss the material that would be available to the historian of two hundred years hence. Whereas to-day the difficulty of the Scottish historian was the poverty and not the superabundance of material, the records available two hundred years hence would be so numerous, assuming their survival *in extenso*, that it would be necessary to wade through an infinite quantity of chaff to get at the grain. He thought this *embarras de richesses* began in the latter half of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth, and was attributable to the invention of the type-writer. Formerly, despatches and minutes were regulated in size by speed of penmanship. To-day everyone dictated and everything was typed. For the last forty years the world had groaned under a welter of *paperasserie*. Before the historian of the future could exhaust the first-hand material for a single week of modern government he would have to do a year or two's solid reading. In ordinary life the situation was still worse. The production of books had multiplied, newspapers were more numerous, and they would presently get a huge

annual library from the B.B.C. At the same time a more valuable kind of data was decreasing in quantity. People no longer wrote intimate letters or kept full diaries. Their lives were too crowded. Yet it was such things that brought back to us most vividly the life of a past age.

As the material of history became too ponderous for human use, then he thought the craze for meticulous details and the search for an impossible factual accuracy might decline. The historian of the future might be forced to aim not at accuracy but at truth. If that came about, our superabundance of trivial data would prove a blessing in disguise and we should get less historical learning in the narrower sense and more historical truth.

The accounts for the year were presented by the Treasurer, Mr. J. M. Howden.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Buchan for presiding was moved by Dr. James Curle.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of CHARGE and DISCHARGE of the INTROMISSIONS of the HONORARY TREASURER for the Period from 12th November 1930 to 4th November 1931.

CHARGE.

I. Funds as at close of last Account—		
1. Sum on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, Edinburgh	£670 0 0	
2. Balance on Account Current with Do. .	48 3 5	
	£718 3 5	
II. Subscriptions received—		
1. Members . . .	£473 11 0	
2. Libraries . . .	131 5 0	
	604 16 0	
III. Past Publications sold to Members . .	10 7 0	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts . . .	18 0 5	
Sum of the Charge . .	£1,351 6 10	

DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of Publications	£480 10 4
II. General Printing and Stationery . . .	10 9 10
Carry forward . .	£491 0 2

Brought forward .	£491 0 2	
III. Miscellaneous Payments	45 2 2	
IV. Income Tax on Deposit Receipt Interest .	4 7 9	
V. Funds as at close of this Account—		
1. Sum on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, Edinburgh £768 0 0		
2. Balance on Account Current with Do. do. . 42 16 9		
	810 16 9	
Sum of the Discharge . . .	£1,351 6 10	

EDINBURGH, 17*th November* 1931.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the period from 12th November 1930 to 4th November 1931, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a Balance on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh, of £768, and a Balance at the credit of the Society's Account Current with the said Bank of £42, 16s. 9d.

WILLIAM K. DICKSON.

Scottish History Society.

THE EXECUTIVE.

1931-1932.

President.

JOHN BUCHAN, M.P., LL.D.

Chairman of Council.

The Hon. LORD SANDS, D.D., LL.D.

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WILLIAM K. DICKSON, LL.D.

Corresponding Members of Council.

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Hon. Treasurer.

JOHN M. HOWDEN, D.L., C.A., 8 York Place, Edinburgh.

Hon. Secretary.

E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE, History Department, The University, Edinburgh.

RULES

1. The object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

For the year 1886-1887.

1. Bishop Pococke's Tours in Scotland, 1747-1760. Edited by D. W. Kemp.
2. Diary and Account Book of William Cunningham of Craigends, 1673-1680. Edited by the Rev. James Dodds, D.D.

For the year 1887-1888.

3. Grameidos libri sex: an heroic poem on the Campaign of 1689, by James Philip of Almerieclose. Translated and edited by the Rev. A. D. Murdoch.
4. The Register of the Kirk-Session of St. Andrews. Part i. 1559-1582. Edited by D. Hay Fleming.

For the year 1888-1889.

5. Diary of the Rev. John Mill, Minister in Shetland, 1740-1803. Edited by Gilbert Goudie.
6. Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo, a Covenanter, 1654-1709. Edited by W. G. Scott-Moncrieff.
7. The Register of the Kirk-Session of St. Andrews. Part ii. 1583-1600. Edited by D. Hay Fleming.

For the year 1889-1890.

8. A List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion (1745). With a Preface by the Earl of Rosebery.

 Presented to the Society by the Earl of Rosebery.
9. Glamis Papers: The 'Book of Record,' a Diary written by Patrick, first Earl of Strathmore, and other documents (1684-89). Edited by A. H. Millar.
10. John Major's History of Greater Britain (1521). Translated and edited by Archibald Constable.

For the year 1890-1891.

11. The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies, 1646-47. Edited by the Rev. Professor Mitchell, D.D., and the Rev. James Christie, D.D.
12. Court-Book of the Barony of Urie, 1604-1747. Edited by the Rev. D. G. Barron.

For the year 1891-1892.

13. Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baronet. Extracted by himself from his own Journals, 1676-1755. Edited by John M. Gray.
14. Diary of Col. the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687. Edited by the Rev. Walter Macleod.

For the year 1892-1893.

15. Miscellany of the Scottish History Society. Vol. I.
16. Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston (1671-1707). Edited by the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen.

For the year 1893-1894.

17. Letters and Papers illustrating the Relations between Charles II. and Scotland in 1650. Edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, D.C.L., etc.
18. Scotland and the Commonwealth. Letters and Papers relating to the Military Government of Scotland, Aug. 1651-Dec. 1653. Edited by C. H. Firth, M.A.

For the year 1894-1895.

19. The Jacobite Attempt of 1719. Letters of James, second Duke of Ormonde. Edited by W. K. Dickson.
20, 21. The Lyon in Mourning, or a Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals, etc., relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, by Bishop Forbes. 1746-1775. Edited by Henry Paton. Vols. I. and II.

For the year 1895-1896.

22. The Lyon in Mourning. Vol. III.
23. Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward (Supplement to the Lyon in Mourning). Compiled by W. B. Blaikie.
24. Extracts from the Presbytery Records of Inverness and Dingwall from 1638 to 1688. Edited by William Mackay.
25. Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies (*continued*) for the years 1648 and 1649. Edited by the Rev. Professor Mitchell, D.D., and Rev. James Christie, D.D.

For the year 1896-1897.

26. Wariston's Diary and other Papers—
Johnston of Wariston's Diary, 1639. Edited by G. M. Paul.
—The Honours of Scotland, 1651-52. C. R. A. Howden.—
The Earl of Mar's Legacies, 1722, 1726. Hon. S. Erskine.
—Letters by Mrs. Grant of Laggan. J. R. N. Macphail.
Presented to the Society by Messrs. T. and A. Constable.

27. Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, 1740-1747. Edited by R. Fitzroy Bell.
28. The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, Merchant of Dundee, 1587-1630. Edited by A. H. Millar.

For the year 1897-1898.

29, 30. The Correspondence of De Montereul and the brothers De Bellièvre, French Ambassadors in England and Scotland, 1645-1648. Edited, with Translation, by J. G. Fotheringham. 2 vols.

For the year 1898-1899.

31. Scotland and the Protectorate. Letters and Papers relating to the Military Government of Scotland, from January 1654 to June 1659. Edited by C. H. Firth, M.A.
32. Papers illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands. 1572-1782. Edited by James Ferguson. Vol. I. 1572-1697.
33, 34. Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections concerning Families in Scotland; Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library. 2 vols. Edited by J. T. Clark, Keeper of the Library.
Presented to the Society by the Trustees of the late Sir William Fraser, K.C.B.

For the year 1899-1900.

35. Papers on the Scots Brigade in Holland, 1572-1782. Edited by James Ferguson. Vol. II. 1698-1782.
36. Journal of a Foreign Tour in 1665 and 1666, etc., by Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall. Edited by Donald Crawford.
37. Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during her Reign in Scotland. Chiefly from the Vatican Archives. Edited by the Rev. J. Hungerford Pollen, S.J.

For the year 1900-1901.

38. Papers on the Scots Brigade in Holland, 1572-1782. Edited by James Ferguson. Vol. III.
39. The Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan, 1659-60. Edited by A. G. Reid, F.S.A.Scot.

For the year 1901-1902.

40. Negotiations for the Union of England and Scotland in 1651-53. Edited by C. Sanford Terry.
41. The Loyall Dissuasive. Written in 1703 by Sir Æneas Macpherson. Edited by the Rev. A. D. Murdoch.

For the year 1902-1903.

42. The Chartulary of Lindores, 1195-1479. Edited by the Right Rev. John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh.

43. A Letter from Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise, Jan. 1562. Reproduced in Facsimile. Edited by the Rev. J. Hungerford Pollen, S.J.
Presented to the Society by the family of the late Mr. Scott, of Halkshill.

44. Miscellany of the Scottish History Society. Vol. II.

45. Letters of John Cockburn of Ormistoun to his Gardener, 1727-1743. Edited by James Colville, D.Sc.

For the year 1903-1904.

46. Minute Book of the Managers of the New Mills Cloth Manufactory, 1681-1690. Edited by W. R. Scott.

47. Chronicles of the Frasers; being the Wardlaw Manuscript entitled 'Polichronicon seu Policratica Temporum, or, the true Genealogy of the Frasers.' By Master James Fraser. Edited by William Mackay.

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